

TIME

Lights. Camera. Power.

How women
are redirecting
Hollywood

BY ELIZA BERMAN

...and America

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK



Oscar-nominated
director Greta Gerwig



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The injured at a hospital after a bombing in Douma, in eastern Ghouta, Syria, on Feb. 6

Photograph by Mohammed Badra—EPA-EFE/Shutterstock

ON THE COVER:
Photograph by Mark Mahaney for TIME



What you said about ...

THE OPIOID DIARIES "It is 3 a.m. and I cannot sleep after reading this issue cover to cover," wrote Dan Bower of Burton, Mich., referring to the March 5 issue, a special report devoted to James Nachtwey's photo essay on the U.S. opioid epidemic. Ramona Davis of Sebastopol, Calif., said "at least a thousand copies" should be sent to elected officials. (In fact, the team behind the issue is sharing what it learned with elected officials and others at a March 6 event at the Newseum in Washington, D.C.)

Particularly moved were those whose own lives have been affected. Patricia Alverson of Chattanooga, Tenn., who lost her grandson to "the intersection of two epidemics: opioids and gun violence," appreciated the focus on "human pathos, not just numbers and pat solutions," as "statistics cannot reflect the pain and anguish of family and friends."

Others wanted greater focus on other aspects of the epidemic. Michael Dumont of Harrington, Del., wished the issue had analyzed the economics of the problem, while Roxanne Merizalde of Cedar Park, Texas, wanted to know about non-opioid pain-

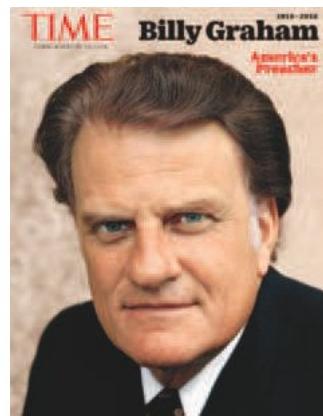
management options. Al Greene, an addiction specialist in Winston-Salem, N.C., wanted more photos showing how addiction affects people at all levels of society. "My fear is that many mainstream Americans will view the photos and conclude that 'that could never be me,'" wrote Greene, "when in fact none of us is immune from this deadly disease."

'We need more resources and funding to help all those impacted by the disease of addiction.'

TRACI MITCHELL,
Snohomish, Wash.

'Make America great again? How about, Make America well again?'

PAUL FORTE,
Penfield, N.Y.



BILLY GRAHAM'S LEGACY

As this week's issue looks ahead at the legacy of the late Billy Graham (page 22), who died at age 99 on Feb. 21, a new TIME commemorative edition looks back at the evangelist's remarkable life as an enormously popular Baptist preacher and adviser to U.S. Presidents. During his decades-long career, Graham appeared on the cover of TIME four times, in (below, from left) 1954, 1993, 1996 (with son Franklin) and 2007. The special edition *Billy Graham: America's Preacher* is available now at timeincshop.com



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VISUAL BUFFET To celebrate Food & Wine's fourth decade, TIME's sister publication picked 40 food photos that changed the way we eat—and more. For example, this image of U.S. President Richard Nixon dining with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai in 1972 facilitated a normalization of relations between the two nations. See the list at foodandwine.com

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In "Donald Trump's Forgotten Man" (Feb. 26), we misstated the age of Todd Hiester in 1979. He was 23.

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NEW ENGLAND

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PACIFIC NORTHWEST

ALASKA

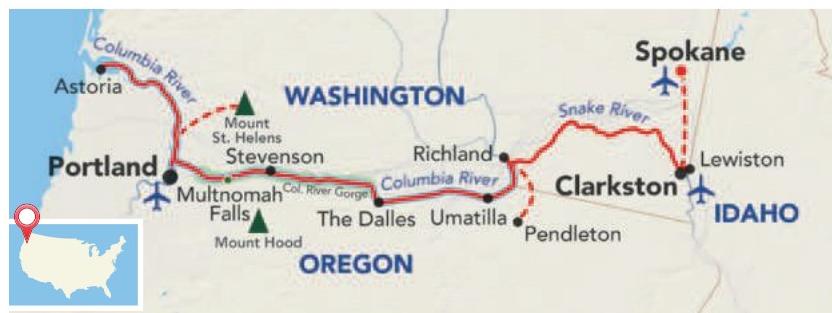
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'YOU'RE GIVING UP A THREE-COURSE MEAL ... FOR THE PROMISE OF A PACKET OF CRISPS IN THE FUTURE.'

MARTIN DONNELLY, a former chief civil servant in Britain's trade department, on the U.K.'s decision to leave the E.U.'s single market as part of Brexit

"There's the fake shot, which is the "Oops"; the fake shot to the backhand, which is the "Oops, I did it"; and then there's the fake shot to the backhand back to the forehand, which is the "Oops, I did it again."

JOCELYNE LAMOUREUX-DAVIDSON, Team USA Hockey's forward, on the strategy behind the shoot-out goal that brought the U.S. its first Olympic women's hockey gold medal since 1998

Blair Witch Project
A TV show based on the horror film is reported to be in the works



Tony Blair
The former U.K. Prime Minister denied reports he sought a Trump Administration job

'I don't eat rice. I eat quinoa ... It is better than rice.'

NAJIB RAZAK, Prime Minister of Malaysia, in a remark seen as a gaffe because one of the country's signature dishes is the rice-based *nasi lemak*; Razak's statement is the latest setback for his re-election campaign, which has been facing corruption allegations



1,059,646

Total number of seeds in the Global Seed Vault in Svalbard, Norway, after more than 70,000 additional crops were added to the project's storage chambers

'I really believe I'd run in even if I didn't have a weapon.'

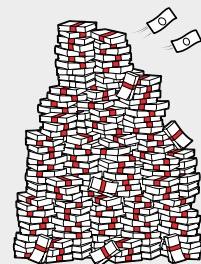
DONALD TRUMP, U.S. President, reacting to reports that an armed sheriff's deputy at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School did not enter the school during the shooting there on Feb. 14

'Women don't need to find a voice. They have a voice. They need to feel empowered to use it, and people need to be encouraged to listen.'

MEGHAN MARKLE, actor, on the movement to combat workplace sexual harassment, while attending the first Royal Foundation Forum with fiancé Prince Harry

27

Number of degrees Fahrenheit by which average February temps were **hotter than normal** at Greenland's Cape Morris Jesup, the northernmost land-based weather station



\$29 billion

Berkshire Hathaway's **windfall**—part of a \$65.3 billion net gain in 2017—**from recent changes to the U.S. tax code**, according to Warren Buffett's annual letter to investors

The Brief

'IMMIGRATION HAS BECOME THE DOMINANT ELECTION-YEAR CONTROVERSY IN ITALY.' —PAGE 8



Xi cemented his power at the Communist Party Congress in October; now, he wants to hold on to it

WORLD

China steps closer to despotism as Xi becomes leader for life

**By Charlie Campbell/
Beijing**

THE STATEMENT WAS ONLY 36 words long, but it contained a bombshell that reverberated around the world on Feb. 24: China's ruling Communist Party (CCP) is abolishing the nation's presidential term limit of two five-year periods.

This means President Xi Jinping can now rule the world's most populous nation for as long as he desires, raising fears that the Asian superpower is lurching back to dictatorship. "This is a very significant move toward China transforming into a one-man system," says Jude Blanchette, a Beijing-based researcher on Chinese politics for the Conference Board, a research firm. "It's hard to overemphasize what a big deal this is for the future of China and the world."

For 40 years, the CCP has cloaked

the country's autocratic rule in institutionalization: the party, and not a single person or family, holds the reins of power for the purported benefit of all 1.4 billion Chinese. Strict protocols such as age and term limits helped its legitimacy.

But since becoming President in 2013, Xi has gnawed away at these safeguards while ramping up censorship, locking up lawyers and activists, and garlanding himself in unctuous propaganda. His eponymous political philosophy was enshrined in the constitution last year, when he also neglected to appoint potential successors to China's highest executive body, as protocol required. Scrapping term limits seems like a logical next step.

That one man now rules the world's

No. 2 economy until he dies, quits or is purged is a stark manifestation of how autocratic political systems have been normalized in recent years. Strongmen like Russia's Vladimir Putin, the Philippines' Rodrigo Duterte and Turkey's Recep Tayyip Erdogan have squashed democratic dissent to cement power—with the tacit approval (if not fawning admiration) of President Trump. Asked about Xi's move, White House press secretary Sarah Sanders said, "That's a decision for China."

Maybe so, but the impact could be felt further afield. As Xi has consolidated power at home, he has also become more assertive on the world stage. His signature Belt and Road Initiative—a trade and infrastructure network tracing the ancient Silk Road—stands to radically boost China's geopolitical clout. He has also set up an international-development bank in Beijing and opened China's first overseas military base in Djibouti. Now that Xi has brazenly rewritten political orthodoxy at home, it's easier to see him tearing up the rule book abroad on issues such as trade and territorial disputes like the one over the South China Sea.

The Chinese people may stand to suffer most from the consequences, however. While there's little internal opposition to Xi at present, economic instability or a mishandled crisis could see discontent bubble up. "Nervousness about his position could lead Xi to back wider crackdowns and political purges," says Tom Rafferty, China manager at the Economist Intelligence Unit.

Xi knows the sharp end of despotism better than most. His father was repeatedly purged by party patriarch Mao Zedong, whose cult of personality wreaked hardships on his people—including the Great Leap Forward, a frenzied experiment in collectivized industrialization that cost up to 45 million lives from 1958 to 1962. Like millions of his contemporaries, Xi was exiled to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution of 1966–76.

To counter the rise of another Mao-like figure, the party leadership under reformer Deng Xiaoping introduced collective leadership around the party executive, and presidential term limits to ensure smooth leadership transitions. But as Xi dismantles these protocols, the risk increases of a succession crisis down the road.

The party recognizes this sensitivity, frantically censoring social-media posts and blocking access to international news channels like CNN as soon as the topic is discussed. But the country will have to reckon with the issue eventually. "This is a several-thousand-year-old problem for China," says Blanchette, describing the 40 years of peaceful transition as the real anomaly. "How long does the emperor stay in power, and how does he exit?"

Now it's a problem for the rest of the world too. □



TICKER

USA Swimming chiefs in hot water

Top USA Swimming officials came under fire for allegedly allowing a culture of sexual abuse and misconduct to exist for decades without challenge. Two officials resigned following the publication of a scathing investigative report by the Southern California News Group.

Kim plotted to visit the West in secret

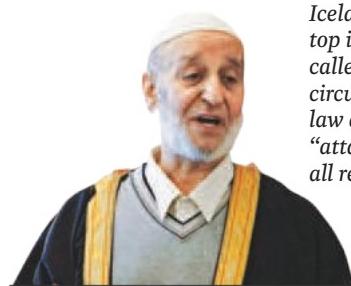
Kim Jong Un and his father Kim Jong Il fraudulently obtained Brazilian passports with fake names in order to apply for visas to visit at least two Western countries in the 1990s, according to European security officials and Reuters.

Cops seek missing CDC employee

Atlanta police have been searching for a Centers for Disease Control and Prevention employee who vanished on Feb. 12, the day he found out why he was not receiving a promotion. Timothy J. Cunningham, 35, left work early, claiming he felt unwell.

Awkward questions for Kiwi PM

An Australian TV interview with New Zealand's Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern was widely criticized for being sexist. Veteran reporter Charles Wooley called the 37-year-old "attractive" and asked when her baby was conceived.



Iceland's top imam called a circumcision law an "attack on all religion"

THE BIG ISSUE

Outlawing male circumcision

Iceland is set to become the first European country to ban male circumcision for nonmedical reasons, prompting fears among Jewish and Muslim leaders that the new law will contravene religious freedom. —Flora Carr

WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN

The bill being debated by Iceland's Parliament proposes prison terms of up to six years for anyone who circumcises a child for nonmedical reasons. The bill's advocates cite the need to protect minors' rights. And hundreds of doctors in Iceland back it, saying circumcision's risks outweigh its benefits.

WHO IS OPPOSED

Religious leaders have strongly criticized the proposed ban, arguing that the new law may incite anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. Jewish and Muslim newborns are typically circumcised for religious and cultural reasons. Imam Salmann Tamimi called the ban an "attack on all religion ... especially Judaism."

WHERE ELSE IT'S BEING DEBATED

In Europe, where fewer than 20% of men are circumcised, opposition to the practice is growing. British and German courts have ruled to give children the right to decide for themselves, while Danish health officials recommend ending the practice.

DIGITS

21,315

Number of recorded measles cases across Europe in 2017, according to the World Health Organization, a fourfold increase from the year before; the biggest outbreak was in Romania, with 5,562 cases, followed by Italy, with 5,006





SEEN AT CPAC Kellyanne Conway, White House counselor to the President, attends the Conservative Political Action Conference in Oxon Hill, Md., on Feb. 23. The three-day conference saw thousands of conservative activists descend on the Washington, D.C., suburb to hear speakers ranging from Conway and President Donald Trump to National Rifle Association executive Wayne LaPierre. *Photograph by Mark Peterson—Redux for TIME*

WORLD

Boko Haram strikes at the schoolyard again

BOKO HARAM SEIZED 110 TEENAGE GIRLS ON Feb. 19 in the town of Dapchi in Nigeria's north-eastern Yobe state. The kidnapping has revived painful memories of the terrorist group's 2014 abduction of 276 girls from a school in Chibok.

TARGETED ATTACK Armed fighters entered the town in machine-gun-mounted trucks, scattering people into the surrounding bush. Witnesses say the extremists specifically asked for the location of the Government Girls Science and Technical College before taking young women away at gunpoint.

BOTCHED RESPONSE Anger has been mounting over the government's reaction. Authorities initially denied that the girls were abducted, then claimed some had been rescued, before issuing a retraction on Feb. 22. The military also withdrew troops from Dapchi shortly before the Feb. 19 assault. The incident is the biggest mass abduction since Chibok, which became a global scandal after the

DATA

WINTER OLYMPICS

Norway dominated the 2018 Winter Olympics in South Korea, taking home the most medals over the 19-day competition. Here's how a sample of countries fared:



Relatives of the abducted schoolgirls fear the worst

launch of the #BringBackOurGirls campaign. Of those girls, 112 are still being held hostage.

NOT OVER President Muhammadu Buhari seemingly learned from the mistakes of his predecessor Goodluck Jonathan, who was criticized for his ineffectual response to Chibok. But four years later—and more than two years after Buhari declared that Boko Haram had been “technically defeated”—Nigeria’s northeast is still evidently at the mercy of the insurgents. —TARA JOHN

**TICKER****Kushner loses top security access**

President Trump's son-in-law and adviser Jared Kushner saw his security clearance downgraded as part of a policy affecting White House aides whose background checks remain pending.

Dreamers given more time

The U.S. Supreme Court declined President Trump's bid for the Justices to hear arguments on the fate of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals immigration program.

Its beneficiaries, known as Dreamers, can continue to renew their applications while the case works its way through the system.

Turkey's Erdogan in child-martyr row

After Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan brought a crying 6-year-old girl dressed as a soldier onstage with him during a televised party congress and told the crowd, "If she's martyred, they'll lay a flag on her," some critics called the stunt child abuse.

Former RNC chair: GOP has a racism problem

Michael Steele, who was the first African American to chair the Republican National Committee, accused the GOP of having a problem with racism. His comments came after a conservative leader said Steele was elected chair "because he's a black guy."

THE RISK REPORT**Italy's populists wring votes from anti-migrant fervor**

By Ian Bremmer

IN ANY COUNTRY WHERE VOTING MATTERS, politicians must find an issue emotive enough to drive their voters to the polls. Italy votes on March 4, and immigration has become the dominant election-year controversy.

We shouldn't be surprised. Unlike those of Spain and Ireland, Italy's economy hasn't enjoyed a notable turnaround. It has grown for more than three years, but it needs another six years at the current pace to return to GDP levels last seen before the 2008 financial crisis. The official unemployment rate stands at around 11%. Many Italians say their taxes are too high, their cities are dirty and dangerous, and their politicians are hopelessly corrupt.

Now add the 600,000 migrants who have landed in Italy over the past four years. The flow slowed sharply in the second half of last year, but boats from North Africa still bring refugees across the Mediterranean, particularly from strife-torn Libya.

The most likely election outcome is another of Italy's famously unstable coalition governments. Silvio Berlusconi—forbidden, as a convicted tax fraudster, from serving another term as Prime Minister—may instead become kingmaker, if asked to decide whether his center-right Forza Italia should ally with the far-right League (formerly the Northern League) or the center-left Democratic Party. Polling suggests the populist Five Star

Movement (5SM) is the most popular single party, but it would need one or more far-right partners to lead a government.

Immigration has driven the debate. Berlusconi has called migrants a "bomb ready to explode." Along with the leaders of 5SM and the League, he has promised his party would deport all 600,000 of them—with no credible explanation of how that could be done, or where they would be sent. Berlusconi also pledges soldiers on the streets to maintain order. Only former Prime Minister Matteo Renzi's Democratic Party supports a more welcoming approach.

Here as elsewhere, immigration plays well for populists, because those fearful and angry about new arrivals are ready to talk about it. Those who welcome migrants, and those less concerned about the issue, are less noisy. How

ugly is the politics? A few weeks ago, a failed Northern League candidate was arrested after six immigrants were shot in a drive-by spree in Macerata, a town northeast of Rome. Italian media reported that, after the shootings, the 28-year-old suspect stepped out of his car draped in an Italian flag, offered a fascist salute and shouted "Italy for the Italians."

A heated issue has only gotten hotter. The question now is whether whoever leads the country next will be able—or willing—to lower the temperature. □

BUSINESS**Equal-opportunity emblems**

Johnnie Walker is rolling out a female version of its Striding Man logo to coincide with Women's History Month and "celebrate women's progress." Here, other brands reacting to changing times. —Kate Samuelson

**CASTLE ROCK**

In January, the Castle Rock Brewery in Nottingham, England, rebranded its logo, which had featured a woman wearing high heels and suspenders, with one featuring a female World War II pilot.

DAIRY AIR

In 2017, complaints of sexism led an ice cream shop in Essex County, New Jersey, to tone down its controversial logo, a cartoon of a seductive-looking cow with its rear exposed.

FACEBOOK

Facebook's friends icon, which depicted a male silhouette in front of a smaller female one, was updated in 2015 to show the woman in front of the man. The silhouettes were more equal in size.

Milestones

DIED

Emmy Award-winning actor **Nanette Fabray**, who became an advocate for the deaf and hard of hearing after she overcame an aural impairment, at 97.

► **Ensa Cosby**, daughter of Bill Cosby, who supported her father through his long-running sexual-assault scandal, at 44.

ENDED

Sales of all assault-style rifles in its stores, by major retailer Dick's Sporting Goods, a fortnight after the Florida school shooting that killed 17.

ANNOUNCED

Becoming, as the title of **Michelle Obama's forthcoming memoir**, which is set to be published in November by Crown, an imprint of Penguin Random House.

► A plan by **the Weinstein Co. to declare bankruptcy**, after talks about selling assets to an investor group collapsed.

► Her upcoming resignation, by **White House communications director Hope Hicks**. One of President Trump's most trusted aides, she will be "pursuing other opportunities."



Bollywood icon Sridevi, seen here in 2012, had her first screen credit in 1967

DIED

Sridevi Kapoor Bollywood's leading lady

By Priyanka Chopra

SRIDEVI KAPOOR CHANGED THE COURSE OF INDIAN cinema. At the age of 4, she swapped playgrounds for movie sets and friends for directors and made 70-mm film her canvas. Sridevi was India's first female superstar, and at the time of her passing, on Feb. 24 at 54, had starred in close to 300 movies over five decades. She owned every frame of every film she was in—without the need for a male co-star.

Normally shy and quiet, Sridevi blossomed under the camera's gaze, delivering such depth in her performance that it would leave audiences breathless. She was one of the reasons I became an actor, and when the news first broke of her passing, I was immobilized. I knew I was not alone; millions were feeling that exact combination of shock and loss.

My last memory of Sridevi is a red-carpet moment last December. In the frenzy of flashbulbs and whirring cameras, she pulled me into a tight hug and spoke lovingly about her two daughters. Her family was her life. She left me feeling warm and fuzzy, and with a promise to meet again.

She left us too soon. But angels don't pass on. They just shine brighter in another realm—so I will always look out for her in the sky.

Chopra is an Indian actor who currently stars in ABC's *Quantico*

THE CEO REPORT

When staying silent is no longer an option

By Alan Murray

DELTA AIR LINES' DECISION to end discounts for NRA members has gotten it into hot water with its home-state legislature. Georgia's lieutenant governor said he would block any tax legislation benefiting the company unless it resumed the discounts. Delta, which is one of the largest employers in Georgia, had hoped the legislature would reinstate a sales-tax exemption for jet fuel that ended in 2015.

The tiff underscores the potential downside for businesses that wade into the political fray. Recently, I was with a group of CEOs at a meeting of the CECP—a CEO-led coalition of companies that focuses on strategies for societal engagement. Attendees were clearly torn by the gun issue.

They were eager to encourage sensible action—such as restricting assault-weapon sales and enhancing background checks—and frustrated by the government stalemate on the issue. But they were unwilling or unable to take some of the more far-reaching actions being pushed on them by the anti-NRA campaigns.

What was most striking to me about the conversation among the CEOs was this: all agreed that saying nothing, which used to be the go-to response of CEOs when confronted with controversial social issues, is no longer a viable option. Their employees expect them to take positions on such issues, and they feel compelled to respond. □





LightBox

Playful gladiators

A snowball fight breaks out in front of the Colosseum on Feb. 26, following rare snowfall in Rome. After the heaviest snowstorm to hit the city in more than half a decade, the Italian capital was blanketed with up to six inches of snow in some neighborhoods.

Photograph by Angelo Carconi—ANSA/AP

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Heading in One Direction

Non-communist political parties work with the Communist Party of China for national progress By Lu Yan

Wu Weihua has two personas. With a doctorate from Rutgers University, he is an eminent plant biology professor at Beijing's China Agricultural University. The 62-year-old is also the chair of the Central Committee of the Jiu San Society, one of the eight non-communist parties on the Chinese mainland that began as a group of intellectuals interested in science and technology.

"Since it was founded 72 years ago, the Jiu San Society has been collaborating with the Communist Party of China (CPC) with a shared commitment to national independence, prosperity, and well-being," Wu said, after his election in December 2017.

In Chinese, "jiu" means nine and "san" means three. Together, they refer to September 3, a date that commemorates a milestone in China's history. The party's founders had originally named their organization Democracy and Science Forum, but the name changed to celebrate the hard-won victory over Japanese invaders in 1945.

Today, the more than 167,000 members of the Jiu San Society are mainly professionals in science and technology, culture, education, and medicine. Some are affiliated with the country's top scientific associations, such as the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Chinese Academy of Engineering, and some civil servants at organizations of state power at various levels. Many are also lawmakers or members of political advisory bodies at local and central levels.

Wu, like many Chinese political leaders, had a grassroots beginning. He spent his childhood in a village in north China and did farm work after finishing high school. He developed an interest in biology and earned his doctorate. Since returning home, he has been involved in research to improve crop production in China.

The Jiu San Society and the other seven non-communist parties are working with the CPC to strengthen socialism with Chinese

characteristics, to serve China's development goals. Unlike in many countries, where the political system consists of the ruling party and the opposition, the political party system in China is one of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC.

China's political party system was born out of the revolutionary struggles in the 20th century. Under this system, the CPC and the eight non-communist parties not only work together but also supervise one another. The CPC is the ruling party, and other parties participate in state affairs.

Small but heard

In 2007, China's State Council Information Office published a white paper detailing the country's political party system. The document describes the eight non-communist parties' role in state affairs: The parties will be consulted when state policies, laws, and regulations are formulated and implemented. They will also be consulted when candidates of state leaders are chosen and regarding administration of the state. Their status and rights are protected by law.

The annual sessions of the National People's Congress (NPC), the national legislature, and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), which is China's top political advisory body, demonstrate the important role these parties play. Held in March almost concurrently, these gatherings are commonly known as the Two Sessions. The eight non-communist parties have a sizable number of deputies to the NPC and submit policy proposals to the CPPCC National Committee.

During the Two Sessions in 2017, the parties, together with the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, submitted more than 300 proposals to the CPPCC National Committee. The proposals pertained to a wide range of issues, including economy and finance, environmental protection, poverty

alleviation, social services, and science and technology.

One proposal was to strengthen a major initiative that would enhance connectivity along and beyond the ancient Silk Road trade routes. The China Democratic League suggested boosting cultural exchanges within the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative, saying they were as important as economic development. The initiative, put forward by President Xi Jinping in 2013, comprises the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road. In addition, the party stressed the importance of dialogue among high-caliber personnel.

The Jiu San Society alone submitted more than 400 proposals to the CPPCC National Committee from 2013 to 2017, and some of them were adopted into government policies. Notably, its report on the environmental impact of hydropower projects on the upper and middle reaches of the Yangtze, the third longest river in the world, contributed to the government's formulation of a development strategy. In the Yangtze River Economic Belt, priority is given to protecting the environment and curbing excessive development projects.

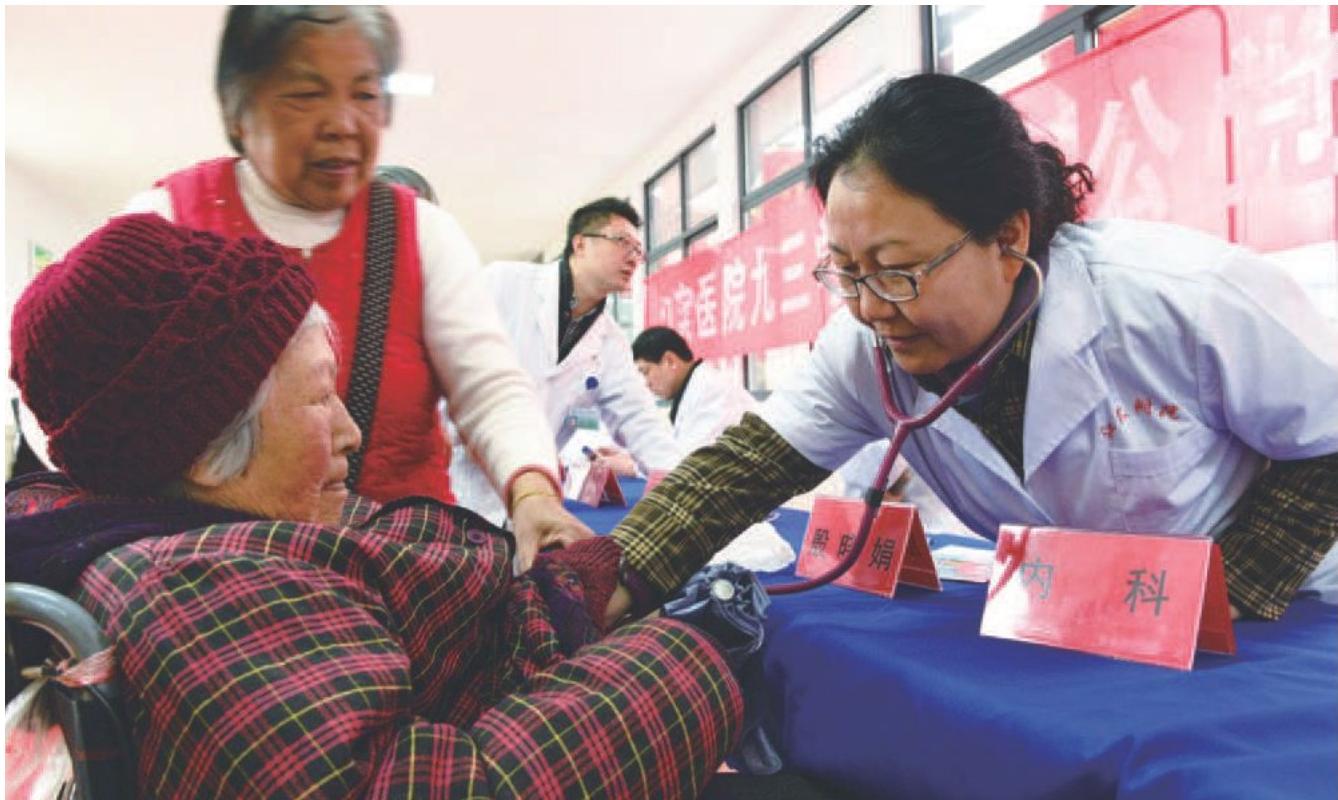
Non-communist party members also take part in local governance and hold key positions in government and judicial agencies. For instance, Wan Gang, Chairman of the Central Committee of the China Zhi Gong Party, is minister of science and technology.

A natural choice

Most of the eight non-communist parties were established in the 1930s and the 1940s, when they formed an anti-imperialist and patriotic force.

The CPC, founded in 1921, developed close relations with the eight. Together, they resisted the Japanese and later fought against the Kuomintang regime. The CPC established its leadership over various revolutionary forces and steered the revolution to victory.

In September 1949, days before the



A doctor examines a woman in Zhenjiang, east China's Jiangsu Province, on April 9, 2017, during a charity program launched by the Jiu San Society and the China Zhi Gong Party

founding of the People's Republic of China was proclaimed, the First CPPCC was convened, marking the formal establishment of the multiparty cooperation system under the leadership of the CPC. It was at this point that the CPC, non-communist parties, and pro-democracy individuals without any party affiliation began to work in concert to build the People's Republic.

Xi, also General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, described the relationship between the CPC and the other eight parties at the 19th National Congress of the CPC in October 2017:

"In handling its relationships with other Chinese political parties, the CPC is guided by the principles of long-term coexistence, mutual oversight, sincerity, and sharing the rough times and the smooth," Xi said. "It supports these parties in performing their duties in accordance with the requirements of the Chinese socialist system for their participation in governance."

Like the National Congress of the CPC, the national congresses of the eight non-communist parties meet every five years to elect new leadership, assess reports made by their central committees on the work done in the past five years, and review and amend their party constitutions if necessary.

At their national congresses last year,

the eight agreed to continue their cooperation with the CPC to promote the ongoing reform in China and the opening up of more sectors to the outside world, as well as modernization guided by socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Future efforts

Considering their respective features and focuses, the eight also came up with plans. For one, the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang, which has been working to strengthen ties between Chinese people living on the mainland and in Taiwan, has resolved to forge further links. Central Committee Chairman Wan Exiang said his party would facilitate Taiwan residents' coming to the mainland to study, work, or start businesses. It would also promote exchanges between people across the Taiwan Strait.

The China Zhi Gong Party, another of the eight parties that originated overseas, will step up its services for overseas Chinese returning home, Wan Gang told Xinhua News Agency.

The China Association for Promoting Democracy, which focuses on education and culture, will conduct research on major social and economic issues, such as inadequate and imbalanced development, Central

Committee Chairman Cai Dafeng said.

Building a strong team of competent people is the priority of the eight parties and the ruling party. Wu said the Jiu San Society would recruit not only senior experts and scholars but also young and middle-aged people with ability and potential.

The eight non-communist parties are also important for China to realize a crucial aspiration, known as the Chinese dream of national rejuvenation. One aspect of the dream is that by 2020, in time for the CPC's centenary, China will become a moderately prosperous society in all respects, with a per-capita income double that of what it was in 2010. Another is that by the mid-21st century, when the People's Republic of China celebrates its centenary, China will have become a great modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious, and beautiful.

Xi has been calling for increased cooperation with the eight non-communist parties to jointly achieve the Chinese dream. ■





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TheView

POLITICS

**Why is the GOP touting
new gun restrictions
after Parkland?
Follow the money**

By Philip Elliott and W.J. Hennigan



IT LOOKED LIKE A WATERSHED MOMENT. IN THE wake of the massacre at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School, President Trump faced the nation's governors in the grand State Dining Room of the White House on Feb. 26. Trump, the beneficiary of record-breaking campaign funding from the National Rifle Association in 2016, told the governors it was time for them to pick a fight with the gun-rights lobby. "Half of you are so afraid of the NRA," Trump chided. "There's nothing to be afraid of."

The President is hardly the only Republican to change his tune on guns in the wake of the Feb. 14 killing of 17 people in Parkland, Fla. Senator John Cornyn of Texas, the chamber's second-ranking Republican, is continuing his work with Democrats to strengthen background-check rules. GOP Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, an NRA favorite, told the audience at a town hall that he would back efforts to raise the age limits for purchasing some weapons to 21 from 18. Trump has proposed to arm educators, while other Republicans are working on plans that would restrict high-capacity magazines like the ones the Parkland shooter is suspected to have used.

Could the tragedy in Parkland have finally changed the minds of the Republicans who resisted gun limits after similar horrors in Newtown, Conn., and San Bernardino, Calif., and Orlando? To hear some observers tell it, the catalysts were the poised and passionate young survivors. Pundits saw the shift as a matter of self-preservation; polls show that vast majorities of Americans are out of patience with the status quo. Additional pressure has come from consumers threatening to withhold business from companies like Delta or Hertz that offer discounts to NRA members.

There may be another explanation for the Republicans' talk of modest new gun restrictions: money. Gun manufacturers are in the midst of the worst business crisis in decades, with double-digit sales drops driving some to the brink of bankruptcy. The NRA, which gets its funding not only from individual members but also major gunmakers, is in a position to help. Nothing gooses gun sales like the threat of new gun-control measures. And behind the scenes, two senior GOP officials tell TIME, the NRA has given lawmakers the green light to float new gun limits without the threat of retribution. The logic: introducing those policies—or even better, debating them—will be good for business. Jennifer Baker, a NRA spokeswoman, denied that her organization made such overtures to Congress and said the NRA's main concern was not gun sales but rather defending gun rights.

IT MAY SEEM a PARADOX that gun manufacturers have suffered during the Trump era. Firearms sales are down across the industry: the combined revenues of Sturm, Ruger & Co.; Vista Outdoor; Winchester;



▲
*Students return
to Marjory
Stoneman
Douglas High
School on
Feb. 28 for the
first time since
a gunman
killed 17 people
there on
Valentine's Day*

Remington and American Outdoor Brands (formerly known as Smith & Wesson) fell 13% in fiscal 2017. FBI background checks, the metric used as a proxy to track sales, fell 8.4% last year from a record-breaking 2016. It was the largest year-over-year drop this century, and some of the world's largest gunmakers have cut back on production and slashed payrolls as a result. The slide has shown no sign of stopping: two days before the Parkland shooting, Remington declared it would file for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection after its 2017 sales took a 30% nosedive.

The explanation is simple. In the gun industry, fear is good for the bottom line. Under Barack Obama, gun owners rushed to buy firepower they feared was going to be outlawed. As Trump took office, the U.S. gun market was approaching saturation. "Gun owners have what they need," says Robert Evans of Pennington Capital, a Minneapolis investment firm. "The stockpiling mentality is over and likely won't change unless you see a new Administration or a change in the makeup of Congress."

It's therefore not a little ironic that the NRA spent \$54 million helping to elect Trump and other gun-friendly Republicans. Had Hillary Clinton won the White House, gun sales would be soaring to new heights, industry analysts say; after all, in 1994, President Bill Clinton oversaw the nation's only ban on assault weapons, which expired in 2004. Polls predicting a second President Clinton drove gun futures into a tizzy. Manufacturers cranked out more firearms than ever in 2016—over 11 million, according to data released by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. The year 2016 was a record year by



far, says Lawrence Keane of the National Shooting Sports Foundation, a firearms industry trade association. “Everybody understood that that level of sales wasn’t sustainable.” Indeed, the more than 25 million background checks last year was still more than double the total in the years before Obama ran. Much of that inventory backlog is now being sold off at rebate.

From the perspective of gunmakers, something has to be done. Floating new restrictions on gun rights could be the jolt the industry needs to bounce back from its Trump slump, political and industry insiders say. If past is prologue, Keane says, the tragedy in Parkland and the ensuing debate could spur an urgency among Americans to stock up.

The Obama years offer a clear window into this phenomenon. Based on FBI background-check figures, gun sales jumped 42% after Obama won the 2008 election. After the December 2012 shootings in Newtown, background checks rose 49% from the year before. (Obama had won re-election a month earlier.) Following the December 2015 shootings in San Bernardino, checks spiked 44%. And when a gunman opened fire at an LGBT nightclub in Orlando in June 2016, background checks leaped 39%.

That isn’t happening in the Trump presidency. “There was some fear-based buying that would take place from time to time,” said James Debney, American Outdoor’s chief executive officer, during a conference call with investors in December. “There is no fear-based buying right now.” In October, the month a shooter killed 58 and injured 851 at a Las Vegas concert—the deadliest mass shooting in modern U.S. history—background

There's no bigger fan of the Second Amendment than me, and there's no bigger fan of the NRA. These guys are great patriots.

PRESIDENT TRUMP

checks were down 13% from the previous year.

The NRA and its allies have been adapting to this new economic landscape. After Las Vegas, the NRA signaled that it would not hold against lawmakers any efforts to regulate bump stocks, devices that modify semiautomatic weapons to fire more quickly. Gun enthusiasts rushed to the store to stockpile them. Yet there was no real progress on gun control in Congress in the 136 days between the Las Vegas and Parkland shootings. “Time is the enemy,” explains one Republican consultant. “Every passing day makes this less urgent.”

THE NRA IS TAKING a similar approach after Parkland. Talking about modest gun limits is fine—good for business, actually. Most of the proposals put forth by Republicans boot the issue back to the states, where the GOP has control of 32 legislatures. Gun owners remain a powerful constituency. Erich Pratt, executive director of Gun Owners of America, a lobby representing more than 1.5 million people, said his members are “very vocally opposed to any new gun-control legislation.” Baker of the NRA said members “are energized and spurred into action” when Second Amendment rights are threatened.

One measure in particular could boost the gunmakers’ bottom line. The plan Trump backed to arm some teachers would create hundreds of thousands of new orders. It was lost on no one that the NRA runs one of the largest gun-safety programs in the country, and would be an easy and well-paid partner for superintendents looking to arm math teachers. But in the end, leaders in the Senate and the House are unlikely to go much further than strengthening background checks. “Anything beyond that is wishful thinking,” one Republican Senator says. The NRA’s acquiescence on that issue isn’t cost-free, either. The House last year passed a background-check bill with a key caveat: individuals with conceal-carry permits would have their certification recognized across state lines. It would be yet another boost for the industry. Democrats in the Senate may have to swallow the conceal-carry reciprocity provision as well.

What works for the NRA and the gunmakers also works for the GOP. The party needs money and enthusiasm in a difficult midterm election cycle. Republican strategists cast the gun debate as a way to box in Senate Democrats running for re-election in the red states Trump carried by double digits in 2016.

Trump got the message. In his meeting with governors at the White House, the President outlined several ideas to curb gun violence. Then, just as he was assuring lawmakers they shouldn’t cower to the NRA, Trump let something slip: he had shared a Sunday lunch with NRA executives at the White House. “There’s no bigger fan of the Second Amendment than me,” he said, “and there’s no bigger fan of the NRA.” □

The meaning of design is up for debate. And that's a good thing

By Clay Chandler

WHEN AIRBNB'S FOUNDERS TELL THEIR ORIGIN STORY, they often go back to the moment in 2009 when Paul Graham, head of startup incubator Y Combinator, gave them four crucial words of advice. At the time, Airbnb had fewer than a thousand registered hosts. Founders Brian Chesky, Joe Gebbia and Nate Blecharczyk were hunkered in Silicon Valley, scrambling to scale the business by poring over data. After a promising start, revenue had flatlined. To figure out what wasn't working, Graham pressed them for information about their users. In *The Airbnb Story*, *Fortune*'s Leigh Gallagher recounts Graham's reaction upon learning that the largest concentration resided in New York City: "[He] paused and repeated back what they had just told him: 'So, you're in Mountain View, and your users are in New York?' They looked at each other, then back at him. 'Yeah,' they said. 'What are you still doing here?' Graham said. 'Go to your users.'"

That exhortation—just to hang out with customers—defies a tenet of Silicon Valley wisdom: that data and technology are the solution to every problem. And yet, for Airbnb, heeding Graham's advice led to key breakthroughs that helped the startup become the \$31 billion behemoth it is today. A decade on, *user experience* is among the tech industry's most overused buzz phrases. But the underlying idea—that there is power in empathy—has never been more profound.

That's true for at least two reasons: one is sheer complexity. Design can help bring order and coherence to the chaos of our hyperconnected world. A second is that the great forces of the modern age—globalization and digitization—are removing traditional barriers to entry. Large firms can no longer rely on great manufacturing capacity, a superior supply chain or established distribution networks to fend off challengers. The rise of China and other emerging economies skilled in manufacturing, combined with newfangled technological developments like Big Data and artificial intelligence, are only making it easier for Davids to go after Goliaths.

IN THIS NEW ERA, smart corporate leaders are embracing the idea that design can be a crucial differentiator. Only a decade ago, senior business executives tended to dismiss design as a second-tier function—a matter of aesthetics or corporate image best left to the folks in marketing or public relations. No more. Today design is widely acknowledged as a C-suite concern and a key element of corporate strategy.

Fortune 500 companies are hiring chief design officers and investing heavily in innovation centers. IBM, for example, employs 1,600 formally trained designers operating in 44 studios in 20 countries, making it the largest design team in the world. Professional-services firms, too, have joined the fray. In 2015, McKinsey & Co. purchased Lunar, a Silicon Valley-based design firm. The list goes on, across industries and geography. Meanwhile, top business and design schools

1,600

Number of formally trained designers working for IBM, which has the largest design team in the world

219%

Percentage by which design-driven companies outperformed the S&P, according to a study conducted by the Design Management Institute that reviewed business performance from 2004 to 2014

have introduced interdisciplinary programs to help students think more like designers and vice versa.

DESIGNERS' MOVE TO THE BUSINESS mainstream has sparked a broad debate about who designers are and what they do. Silicon Valley design guru John Maeda distinguishes between three categories: "classical" designers, who create physical objects or products for a specific group of people (think architects as well as industrial, furniture and graphic designers); "commercial" designers who innovate by seeking deep insights into how customers interact with products and services (think teams of researchers huddled around whiteboards and mosaics of brightly colored Post-it notes); and "computational" designers, who use programming skills and data to satisfy millions or even billions of users instantaneously (think tech firms like Amazon and Facebook).

The camps don't always get along. Classically trained designers are apt to look askance at the artistic abilities of designers from the other groups. Commercial designers question how computational designers can empathize with millions of people they've never met. Computational designers complain that the methods of the other two groups can't be scaled. But many believe that, in the future, the most valuable designers will be those who combine skills and perspectives from all three categories.

That will be just one of the issues addressed in Singapore on March 6 as editors of *TIME*, *Fortune* and *Wallpaper* launch a unique new conference. Brainstorm Design will bring together leaders from the business, technology and design worlds to begin asking, among other things, If the soul of design is empathy, do designers themselves need more of it for one another?

Chandler is *TIME International's* executive editor and chairman of Brainstorm Design

Free speech, forced speech and the right to silence

By Nancy Gibbs

HERE IS A CHALLENGE FOR OUR POLARIZED AGE: IF YOU value the right to speak freely, then what about the right not to? The right to express any opinion or none at all, to inflame an audience by what you say, or what you refuse to say. Surely these rights are knit together: tug at either one, and the fabric of freedom unravels.

All this is on my mind as the Academy Awards approach, a celebration of artistic expression that typically invites other kinds as well. Oscar-night politics mirror the moral battles of the age; Black Lives Matter, #MeToo and now the Parkland tragedy promise that people will be speaking their minds, and I'll defend to the end their right to do so, for comics to be serious and actors authentic in the expression of their views, against critics who tell them to "stay in their lanes."

BUT I ALSO defend their right to silence. And here I'm concerned not just with the stage, but the carpet—the red one. For high-profile events, from the Golden Globes to the State of the Union, women were urged to wear a certain emblem or color—black in those cases—to protest sexual misconduct. In a year when we have explored the exorbitant human cost of silence, the momentum naturally builds for everyone to take a stand, tell a story, stake a claim.

Such a campaign can signal seriousness and scale—up until people are denounced for what they chose not to wear, not to say. We can admire those who speak out without judging those who do not. Kate Winslet was scorned for initially failing to scorn Woody Allen. Taylor Swift was criticized for condemning sexual harassment without denouncing Donald Trump. "One of the world's biggest pop stars doesn't want to talk about politics," ran the Politico headline. "Is that O.K.?"

Not these days. America in 2018 is so politically active, so enraged, that you sense a growing suspicion of those who remain on the sidelines. Saying nothing has always been a swampy moral ground. Silence, Plato said, gives consent.

Yet not all challenges offer such clear moral choices. In the face of absolute rights and absolute wrongs, there are myriad ways to respond. And then there are issues whose moral boundaries we are still exploring, including our current debate over sexual conduct and misconduct. About the monsters, there is no argument. But ever since the Harvey Weinstein revelations, an immense, intense, highly personal and yet profoundly political debate has unfolded about conduct and consent. At least in private, people admit that they aren't entirely sure how to map this territory.

WHICH BRINGS ME back to the carpet. The women who did not wear black to the Golden Globes faced a new context. "This is a moment of solidarity," actor Eva Longoria told the *New York Times*, "not a fashion moment." But is it

Symbolism,

for all its

power,

invites

misinter-

pretation.

Does a

black dress

on the red

carpet

signal

mourning

and loss?

so black and white? What about Meher Tatna, president of the Hollywood Foreign Press Association, who wore red in honor of her mother and her Indian heritage? "When you have a celebration, you don't wear black," she told *Entertainment Tonight*. "She would be appalled if I were to [have] worn black." Nuance is all but outlawed on Twitter. Of all the weapons of social media, shame is among the most promiscuously brandished. Actor Blanca Blanco pushed back against criticism of her red dress: "Shaming is part of the problem," she tweeted. "The issue is bigger than my dress color #TIMESUP!"

Of course for many the issue is simply Trump and Trumpism. The President made it clear the rules of public discourse would be changing. He has delivered a profusion of invective, disruption and therefore delight to the supporters who relish any kind of speech that makes the left crazy. Progressives have come back loud and strong, introducing pussy hats and Time's Up pins and athletes on bended knee, alt-means of alt-communication to counter the strange distortions that define the Age of Trump. But symbolism, for all its power, invites misinterpretation. NFL players learned this when their pregame protests against police brutality were recast as opposition to country. Does a black dress on the red carpet signal mourning and loss? Is the message that fashion is frivolous and conformity righteous?

Sometimes silence is wrong. Sometimes it is golden. But it is usually mysterious, defined by what it does not say, does not mean. Sometimes we choose silence now because we will soon be shouting, and are saving our voice. Sometimes we choose silence over shallowness, as we search for the right words, at the right time. Respect for restraint is a democratic value as well, but a harder right to defend in this age of constant contact and brittle trust. □



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Religion

A HOUSE DIVIDED

BILLY GRAHAM'S DEATH
REVEALS RIFTS IN HIS FAMILY,
EVANGELICALISM AND AMERICA

By Elizabeth Dias

*Billy Graham
preaches at the
Miami Beach
Exhibition Hall in
March 1961*

PHOTOGRAPH BY RON WAHL



THE 10-CAR MOTORCADE CARRYING THE BODY OF America's most famous evangelist wound its way 130 miles through North Carolina. Down mountain roads and interstates, the cortege passed thousands of men and women who raised Bibles and American flags in tribute. Pallbearers carried the pine plywood casket into his family library in Charlotte, where former Presidents George W. Bush and Bill Clinton arrived to pay their respects. Then Billy Graham flew one last time to Washington, to lie in honor in the U.S. Capitol's Rotunda, a recognition usually reserved for Presidents.

Graham's final journey befitting his legend. A humble, golden-haired farm boy once felt a call from heaven, and left home to tell the world. He became one of the most charismatic figures of the 20th century, a confidant to Democratic and Republican Presidents alike. More than 215 million people over six decades flocked to hear him preach forgiveness in person. Rulers sought his counsel. He made evangelicalism relevant in the halls of power and around the world.

But in the wake of Graham's death at age 99 on Feb. 21 comes discord. His prodigal firstborn son has risen as heir to his religious empire. And yet it is difficult to imagine most anything that Franklin Graham says coming from the mouth of his father. The elder Graham rose to the heights of religious power in America by uniting evangelicals after a fundamentalist crisis in the early 20th century. His son has risen to prominence by embracing the divisions of our time. He defends President Donald Trump amid allegations of affairs and hush-money payments. He rails against the Supreme Court's

ruling to legalize same-sex-marriage. He says Muslims have "hijacked Abraham," the patriarch shared by Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

It is not just outsiders who know that the house of Graham has entered a new era of division. The difference between father and son is impossible to ignore, even for those who love Franklin most. "Daddy's style was so gentle, maybe not in the beginning, but loving and warm," Franklin's sister Anne Graham Lotz told TIME in 2016. "You think of Daddy speaking at the National Cathedral after 9/11," she said. "That is Daddy, and Franklin is just not that." Lotz, whom Billy once called the "best preacher in the family," has at times tried to temper Franklin's firebrand approach but remains largely offstage as head of her own small ministry in Raleigh, N.C.

The fractured Graham legacy is about more than just the first family of American Christianity. The Grahams represent the state of evangelicalism in the U.S., pulled apart by the extremism of the day. Without their unifying senior statesman, American evangelicals today are fighting over politics, the President, Islam, women's leadership, same-sex marriage and what the very basics of Christian witness should be. "There won't be another Billy Graham," says Rick Warren, pastor of Saddleback Church in Lake Forest, Calif. "The world has changed."

FRANKLIN, called by his father's middle name, has long been the heir apparent to the family's religious empire. As a young man, he was a college dropout with a taste for whiskey. When he was finally ordained at age 29, his father called the occasion "a culmination of my life's work." In recent



years, Franklin, now 65, has run the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA) as well as his own international Christian humanitarian organization, Samaritan's Purse, while his father lived quietly with caretakers at his mountain home in Montreat, N.C.

Unlike his father, Franklin gravitates to the edge. During the 2016 presidential campaign, he launched a vote-your-values bus tour to all 50 states to push evangelicals to the polls. Technically, he wasn't affiliated with the GOP, but he made his political allegiances known. In an interview with TIME on the tour, Franklin voluntarily brought up Trump more than any other Republican candidate. He called for a ban on Muslim immigration six months before Trump did and criticized people who "demonized" the police in protests over racial bias.

Franklin's voter-mobilization efforts worked: more than 80% of white evangelicals voted for Trump. Franklin believes that God put Trump in office. He darkly declares that the U.S. has deteriorated since his father's day, and he sees that fact as license to say what he wants. "People don't want to be told they are sinning," he told TIME in 2016. "I just don't care."

Not all of Billy's followers respond to such rhetoric. Lotz said during the campaign that she did not think her father would have done her brother's get-out-the-vote tour, and she raised her concerns to both Franklin and the BGEA board, on which she also serves. But like her father, Lotz is diplomatic, and she believes God is using her brother. "As my mother would say, He goes where angels fear to tread," she said. "One of the issues we have today is that so many of the political issues are moral issues, and you have to take a stand."

Lotz, 69, has never been her family's public protagonist. She leads her own Christian organization, AnGeL Ministries, headquartered in an unassuming building near a Raleigh strip mall. Like Franklin, Lotz worries about abortion and same-sex marriage. But she rarely mentions culture-war issues. Even talking about evangelicals as a voting bloc concerns her. When pressed, she says she would have voted for Carly Fiorina had she survived the primaries. "Politics is not our message," she said in 2016. "If evangelicals are all aligned with 'this,' then how can we reach the people over there, on the other side of the aisle, with our message?"

Lotz prefers to follow the model of a biblical prophet who wept and prayed over society's sins instead of losing his temper and pointing fingers. But that leaves her, and those like her, wandering in the wilderness of today's American evangelical landscape, far removed from the movement's fiery leaders, including her brother. Her organization takes in a mere \$1 million a year, a fraction of the BGEA's annual revenue of about \$100 million. Even if she had a wider cultural following, most evangelical churches do not let women preach.

THE DIFFERENCE between father, son and daughter says as much about the changing nature of the U.S. as it does about the Graham family. Both Billy and Franklin are creatures of their generations. Billy rose to greatness by giving evangelicals a vision beyond the fundamentalism that had taken hold during the evolution and creation debates and the Scopes trial of 1925. He navigated a path through the civil rights era, holding racially integrated crusades across the

*Above, from left:
Franklin Graham
speaks at the Billy
Graham Library
in Charlotte after
his father's death;
values voters join
Graham's rally in
Boston in 2016;
Trump greets
Graham at a 2017
campaign event in
Arizona*

South but stopping short of marching with Martin Luther King Jr. in Selma. He was no saint—tapes secretly recorded by Richard Nixon revealed Billy making anti-Semitic remarks with the famously bigoted Republican President. But Graham's light touch gave his followers a way to embrace traditional American revivalism outside of the hot political issues of the day.

The American religious landscape was changing in Billy's final decade. More than a third of millennials identify as religiously unaffiliated, more than any previous generation, according to the Pew Research Center. Only 41% of millennials say religion is very important to them, compared with 72% of the Greatest Generation. The youngest evangelicals are increasingly diverse and more open to same-sex marriage than their elders. At the same time, and perhaps in response, their elders have dug in. Billy's alma mater, the evangelical Wheaton College in Illinois, made national headlines in recent years not for spiritual revival but for opposition to the Affordable Care Act's contraception mandate and for the racial tensions driven by the contentious departure of its only black tenured female professor in 2016.

Nothing has revealed evangelicalism's divisions more than Trump's rise. If the white evangelical base that for decades looked to Billy for inspiration began to fracture as he aged, it flat out splintered in the 2016 presidential primaries. Some of the faithful opted for more traditional representatives of the conservative social agenda, like Ted Cruz, Jeb Bush or Marco Rubio. But a large contingent of white, blue collar, non-college-educated evangelicals united around Trump. And once atop the GOP ticket, Trump attracted new fundamentalist forces into an alliance with more traditional evangelicals. Prosperity gospel and Pentecostal pastors found political power attaching themselves to a thrice-married, foulmouthed businessman.

In this environment, Franklin's way found success. His hard-edged politics earned him the President's ear. His Facebook following has roughly doubled since his 2016 tour, from 3.4 million to 6.5 million. His daily, often controversial posts earn tens of thousands of likes and shares, evangelizing a new, different audience from that of his father. At the same time, Billy's passing leaves many less strident evangelicals without a leader. Lotz has chosen prayer amid the rancor. Warren hopes to find a way for evangelicalism to rebuild "credibility and trust."

And so Billy Graham's journey, ironically, ends amid the divisions he once healed. His burial makes that clear. Even a decade ago, when people imagined Billy's funeral, it was a given that all living former Presidents would attend. Now, when Franklin eulogizes his father on March 2, the only Commander in Chief expected in the audience is Trump. □



Graham with his wife Ruth and four of their children, including Franklin, in 1955



ED CLARK—THE LIFE PICTURE COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

A woman with dark hair and a distressed expression is in the lower right foreground, looking towards the camera. In the background, several other people are visible, some appearing to be in a state of distress or carrying items. The scene suggests a moment of trauma or displacement.

World

THE AGONY OF SYRIA

LIFE UNDER ASSAD'S BOMBS IN A DAMASCUS SUBURB
BY WENDY PEARLMAN AND LOUBNA MRIE



Injured children are treated at a hospital in Douma, a city in the Damascus district of eastern Ghouta, on Feb. 19

THE PEOPLE OF GHOUTA HAVE LIVED THROUGH A LOT.

As the Damascus suburb joined protests against the regime of Bashar Assad during the Arab Spring, the government cracked down, and rebels took up arms. Regime forces were pushed out of the area in late 2012 and replied with a siege that prevented food, medicine and people from entering or leaving. In August 2013, a chemical-weapons attack on the enclave killed more than 1,400 civilians. In the years that followed, the siege tightened and aerial bombardment continued.

But on Feb. 18, the Assad regime and its Russian allies abruptly ramped up attacks, launching one of the most intense bombing campaigns yet seen in a war that has become a complex patchwork of overlapping global interests. Turkey is fighting Kurdish forces in the north, Iran is building military bases in the south, while Russian mercenaries have clashed with U.S. forces in the east. Meanwhile, Assad hammers what he calls extremists on the ground in eastern Ghouta, one of the last rebel redoubts left standing.

The campaign has left at least 500 civilians dead and thousands injured. Attempts by the U.N. to forge a lasting ceasefire have failed; Secretary-General António Guterres has called the situation "hell on earth." Relief workers say regime forces are using chemical weapons in their daily bombardments.

The people of eastern Ghouta are also speaking for themselves. Here are some of their voices:

EYAD, 27, FATHER

We were underground for six days, sharing a basement shelter with 70 other people. You feel the dampness in your bones. The smell of so many people is horrible. You don't even know which smell belongs to you.

Every time we hear fighter jets, we think that this moment will be our last. The sound of jets terrifies me because I was wounded in an airstrike before. But what scares me most is that I'll die, and my wife and our 3-year-old will be alone. Or they'll





A boy and several men are treated at a medical facility after a suspected chlorine attack in the town of Sheifouniyeh, in the eastern Ghouta district, on Feb. 25; one infant reportedly died after exposure



A nurse washes a child after a bombing in Douma on Feb. 22; the Syrian American Medical Society, which tracks attacks on medical centers, said 13 were targeted in one 48-hour period



be killed, and I won't know how to live without them.

We heard that there was a cease-fire and got back home to find it all dust and broken glass. I only wanted two things: to drink coffee and shower. We started a fire to heat the water, and I'd just gotten in the shower when they started bombing again. I didn't even have a chance to rinse the shampoo before we ran back to the shelter.

I saw one of my neighbors holding bread and cheese, staring at a building that had turned to rubble. He said, "My children are under there. They hadn't eaten for three days, and I had just left to get food. I don't know if they're alive or dead." Luckily, his children were later rescued.

All I want is for the bombing to stop, and to stay in Ghouta with my neighbors and the streets where I grew up. This is our home. We can deal with destruction and rebuild. We just want to stay.

NIVIN, 38, TEACHER

I left all the news groups that circulate updated lists of those who have been killed. My heart couldn't take it anymore. But in spite of myself, I read the names of Najah and Lina. I refused to believe that those were my students. The sweet brunette who asked me, "Miss, what will you tell Mom about my grades?" That was before massive shelling forced us to suspend the schools ...

In my extended families not a single person is armed. From the youngest to the oldest, we are civilians trying to serve our community. If you're pro-regime, rest assured that the regime doesn't care about you any more than it cares about us. Your turn just hasn't come yet. [Translated from a Facebook post with the author's permission.]

TAAQI, 30, RELIEF WORKER

I volunteer for a group called Molham Team. One day a woman came to me, but she was so shy that she wouldn't make eye contact. She told me that her husband was injured and they hadn't eaten for two days. Her son was so hungry that she caught him eating his own feces.

I delivered some food to their house and was shocked to find it nearly empty. They'd used most of their furniture as firewood.

I returned last night to see if they had kept safe in this bombing. The whole neighborhood had been destroyed. I have no idea if they're alive or dead.

HAMZI, 24, PARAMEDIC

When you're rescuing someone, you have two minutes max. The regime usually bombs the same area twice in a row, aiming to hit rescue workers with the second strike.

Most of our medical facilities are no longer operating. We're running out of crucial things, like anesthetics. We aren't able to do much for deep wounds, so we end up amputating entire limbs.

Last September, a tiny 3-year-old came into the emergency



room with an acute outbreak of herpes. He needed a certain medication that we didn't have. We sent his name to the Red Cross, which asked the government to permit his immediate evacuation from Ghouta. There was no response.

I'll never forget the day that he passed away.

LOUBNA, 38, ACTIVIST

The first time the road out of Ghouta was blocked, five years ago, I didn't understand. What did it mean that we were trapped? Then stores' shelves gradually went empty. Food, fuel, the most basic essentials ... everything began to vanish. Even so, people were generous. My neighbor would send me two tablespoons of food in a teacup. She could barely feed her children but still thought of me.

It's embarrassing to complain about such a small detail, but the hardest days for me were when I had my period. There was one store that sold pads for \$3 apiece. Later people started making pads and baby diapers out of plastic. They weren't clean, but that's all we could do.

In those days, my biggest fear was of being kidnapped or killed. Civil-society activists got death threats from Jaysh al-Islam, especially those who dared to criticize it. That pushed us out.

Our center, Women Now for Development, offered classes in English, literacy, sewing. Anything to empower women. Nearly 100 women came every day, some walking hours. Their dedication to learn despite all the horror surrounding them was truly inspiring. Women have been the heroes of the siege.

MUHAMMAD, 35, ACTIVIST

Imagine what it's like to be trapped. No electricity, no water, no soap. You wear your same dirty clothes, day in and day out.

We got to the point where we'd pay \$8 for rotting bread. I'd tear off the green spots and dip the bread in oil. When I ran out of oil, I'd dip it in water.

Another guy and I planted potatoes. He couldn't stop talking about how excited he was to make french fries! When I finally boiled those potatoes, I was so happy I practically cried. At the same time, I was heartbroken. The guy who'd planted with me had died, and I felt guilty for eating without him.

It cost me \$4,000 to get out of Ghouta and cross to Lebanon. For the people who control the borders, you're not a human being fleeing for your life. You're money, and they'll take everything you've got.

Today, I feel how all Syrians in exile feel: guilty and depressed. You just can't comprehend this nightmare unless it happens to you. I hope it never will.

Pearlman is an associate professor of political science at Northwestern University and the author of We Crossed a Bridge and It Trembled: Voices from Syria. Mrie is a Syrian photographer and writer.





A man injured in a bombing waits for assistance at a medical facility in Douma on Feb. 20

Movies

FIRST, THE MOVIES NOW, THE WORLD

HOW CORRUPT, CRAVEN HOLLYWOOD
FOUND ITS CONSCIENCE

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

ILLUSTRATIONS BY MARCOS CHIN FOR TIME



A VENERATED AND HUGELY BANKABLE ACTOR'S swift stigmatization following a sex scandal. An eleventh-hour casting change and directorial reworking that could earn an actor an Oscar. A fat, glaring case of workplace sexism, capped by a striking act of decency. These are the types of things that are supposed to happen *in* the movies, not *around* them.

But this is the new Hollywood. All bets are off. And so this past fall's *All the Money in the World*, now an Oscar contender, underwent a near total overhaul in just a few weeks before its scheduled release in late December. The film first hit turbulence after numerous men accused star Kevin Spacey of sexual assault or harassment. All scenes featuring Spacey were then reshot with the actor Christopher Plummer—an unprecedented move that increased the film's budget by an estimated \$10 million. Then, after the film's release, it was revealed that actor Mark Wahlberg had earned \$1.5 million to reshoot his scenes, while his co-lead Michelle Williams had been paid less than \$1,000. Following a public uproar, Wahlberg donated his \$1.5 million to the Time's Up Legal Defense Fund, a recently established initiative to provide legal support to those who have been sexually harassed, assaulted or abused in the workplace. Plummer has now been nominated for a Best Supporting Actor Academy Award.

This wild domino chain of events could have taken place only in the wake of Harvey Weinstein's downfall, which sparked an unprecedented reckoning.





ing in Hollywood and changed the way we talk about sex and power in the world at large.

Although Hollywood has long been awash in liberal thinking, it's also a place steeped in tradition and habit. And let's hang on to some healthy cynicism: it is absolutely a place where making money takes precedence over just about everything else. Power has always been concentrated in the hands of the few—mostly, historically, men. Connections are valued over merit. Unless you count the stark, simplified good-vs.-evil moralism seen in most comic-book movies—which are among Hollywood's biggest moneymakers—or the big end-of-year prestige pictures trotted out in hopes of winning an Oscar, Hollywood as a business entity doesn't give much of a damn if a movie sends out a "positive" message or not.

But if America overall seems to have backslid into a darker age, Hollywood is examining everything in a new, more starkly revealing light. Over the past five months alone, Hollywood has moved quickly to right long-established wrongs and to rattle ancient modes of thinking. The revelations about Weinstein crashed like a tidal wave: even though the fallen mogul had plenty of enablers, relatively few people—beyond the women he abused or harassed—grasped the full extent of his manipulative, devious behavior. In our naiveté, we'd always assumed that beautiful, successful female actors just drifted through life, untouched by the travails ordinary women deal with every day; suddenly, we knew differently, as women risked their careers to speak out first about Weinstein and then, in a swell that became bigger and louder by the day, other abusers. The subsequent and swift downfall of other Hollywood players changed everything about how we view women—or anyone who doesn't hold the big power cards—in the entertainment business. Now Hollywood isn't just part of the political conversation; it's actively driving it, motivating its denizens to speak out about certain core American values in a way we've never seen before.

What does it mean to be an American? What color is the hat you're wearing, and what does it say on the front? What rights do you stand up for, and which—or how many—are you willing to let pass by? Hollywood is something that defines us as Americans, for better and worse. Movies are, after all, one of our biggest cultural exports, one of our chief modes of presenting ourselves to the world. But even just watching them means something. What mark do the movies—and, to some extent, the people who make them—leave on us?

THE OSCAR NOMINATIONS this year tell the story of Hollywood's recent evolution. Black Lives Matter, which sprang to life after the 2013 acquittal

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of George Zimmerman in the killing of Trayvon Martin, not only opened new conversations about racism and the justice system, but also pushed us to think harder about representation of people of color in the movies—and about who was getting to make those movies. In 2015, you would have had to be blind not to see a problem: nearly all the Oscar nominees were white, and that wasn't even anything new. It was simply that, finally, the world at large had taken notice.

Because movies still take a great deal of time to conceive and produce, Hollywood can't respond to current events as quickly as the television industry often can. But in 2017, we began to see some evidence of Hollywood's willingness to change. Jordan Peele's *Get Out*—a horror movie that tangles with spiky questions about what it means to be black in a country where white people still hold most of the cards—was a huge box-office success and also earned Oscar accolades, including nominations for Best Picture, Director, Original Screenplay and Actor (for Daniel Kaluuya's agile, alert performance). Disney/Pixar's *Coco*—nominated for Best Animated Feature, as well as for its music—enchanted audiences not just because it's set in Mexico and features Latino characters, but also because of its openness and sensitivity about death. Dee Rees' superb multi-family historical drama *Mudbound* earned four nominations, including one for Rees' and Virgil Williams' adapted screenplay. The picture is so good, it should have gotten more. But at least the academy has recognized Mary J. Blige's sterling, understated supporting performance as well as the song she performs for the movie (which she co-wrote with Raphael Saadiq and Taura Stinson).

Those nominations aren't the end of change, but they are a beginning. It's as if an egg has cracked open, and there is no putting its contents back inside. We know that we need to see and hear from more women of color, and that shift will further expand the conversation about race and gender in this country. Accordingly, this year will bring us Ava DuVernay's eagerly awaited *A Wrinkle in Time*, a fantasy universe imagined for the big screen by a black woman.

And in terms of the Oscar race, specifically, it's a year of milestones for women. With *Lady Bird*, Greta Gerwig becomes the first woman to be nominated in the Best Director category for her solo debut; the film received four other nominations, including one for Gerwig's screenplay. (She is one of only five women to be nominated for Best Director since the first awards were presented in 1929. Kathryn Bigelow was the first woman to win that category, in 2010, for *The Hurt Locker*.) And in a field that's perhaps even less hospitable to women than directing, Rachel Morrison has

become the first female director of photography to be nominated for a Best Cinematography award, for her extraordinary work in *Mudbound*. It will be terrific if she wins. But even if she doesn't, the nomination alone is a huge step forward for women working below the line in Hollywood, in terms of both visibility and pay equity. It might even inspire young women to step into the more technical fields and help create a web of support for them.

THIS NEW HOLLYWOOD, far from perfect but changing swiftly in exciting and encouraging ways, is one sign of hope that America can live up to its ideals. Right now, we have a President who communicates via a bizarre language of perpetually shape-shifting Twitter communiqués and a capital in gridlock. But Hollywood—traditionally the first place we'd turn when looking for bad behavior or salacious gossip—has in many ways come to seem more thoughtful, stable and forward-thinking than Washington. Consider a mass-market entertainment like Ryan Coogler's *Black Panther*, which, though set largely in Africa, speaks of an America that's more inclusive rather than less. A movie like *Black Panther*, with roles for many terrific black actors who have been underserved by mainstream projects, probably couldn't even have gotten made just five years ago. Yet this well-crafted, thoughtful picture not only exists but also has become a massive worldwide hit. This isn't just the kind of movie America wants to see; it's what the world wants to see, and it helps put our best face forward as a nation. If Hollywood is going to continue to thrive as a worldwide economic force, then wouldn't it be smart to keep telling stories that people of all races, orientations and beliefs can respond to? The best way to do that is to shift the balance of power in Hollywood.

When Oprah Winfrey, accepting the Cecil B. DeMille Award at the Golden Globes in January, made an impassioned, politically tinged speech—defending the press “as we try to navigate these complicated times” and asserting that the major changes of the future will come from women of all colors—both the press and casual viewers wondered if it was a nascent bid for the presidency in 2020. Will she or won’t she? Should she or shouldn’t she? Those questions are beside the point. The crux is that this perfectly constructed and delivered speech, an oratory feat ringing with common sense and generosity, was the kind of dignified, respectful statement that many Americans would generally hope to get from Washington—in at least some form, partisan differences notwithstanding—and which, these days, is nowhere in evidence.

Instead, our nation’s capital has made Tinseltown seem like a role model. Consider the magnitude of this change: Stars speaking out freely



about sexual harassment and pay inequality. A hugely popular businesswoman, actor and television personality igniting the hope that Americans can find a way to put their most generous ideals to work. Old ways of doing business falling away, albeit slowly, to make room at the table for men and women of all colors. It would have been unimaginable in another era.

We've entered an age in which we can't afford to look away, or even to blink—for better and for worse. Every choice a studio makes, in terms of its casting or choice of director for a specific movie; every report of inappropriate or outright illegal behavior by a male power player; every time it comes to light that a woman has been paid less than a man for the same work—thanks to social media, almost nothing can be hidden anymore. This new era in Hollywood is largely about self-scrutiny. Men are asking, Have I ever done—or am I currently doing—anything that could be construed as abusive or inappropriate? Men and women are asking if they've done all that they can to widen opportunities for people of color. Suddenly, everyone is nervous about practically everything, asking questions about what needs to change. This degree of scrutiny is a double-edged sword: while, say, having more women and people of color as filmmakers and screenwriters means that a wider range of stories will be told, the notion that every idea needs to be run through a filter to make sure it's completely fair and inoffensive to everyone isn't the best way to make art.

But this new era demands that we feel uncomfortable—it's the only way to change all the things we've become too comfortable with—and thank God that Hollywood at least recognizes that it has reached a crossroads. Changes in Hollywood thinking have the potential to change American thinking. Decisions that get made in the coming year will affect not just the movies we see in 2019 and '20 but also how movies get made for decades to come. Right now, at least some of the plain-spokenness and human compassion that so many people in this country are wishing for and not getting in Washington is coming from Hollywood. The “new” Hollywood that today's progressive thinkers are driving toward—a place where the voices of women and minorities are heard and valued, where white men don't hold all the power and make all the money—is a kind of mini utopian America. That by itself is cause for optimism, and as energizing as Oprah's Golden Globes speech was, she doesn't have to run for President to foment change. At a point when so many people feel so hopeless about the direction we're headed in as a country, Hollywood is striving to improve its own governance. Maybe, in leading by example, it can force a shift in America's. □



Profile

LEADING BY EXAMPLE

HOW GRETA GERWIG UPENDED INDUSTRY EXPECTATIONS
WITH A MOVIE ABOUT THE LIFE OF A TEENAGE GIRL

BY ELIZA BERMAN

The Oscar nominee has emerged as one of Hollywood's most dynamic new filmmakers in a historic moment for women behind the camera



FOUR HOLLYWOOD
INSIDERS ON WHAT
NEEDS TO CHANGE

REPRESENTATION MATTERS—AND IT'S JUST GOOD BUSINESS

BY EVA LONGORIA

As a little girl growing up in Corpus Christi, Texas, I was inspired by a young Mexican-American singer named Selena Quintanilla. Her skin looked like mine, her hair texture resembled mine, and she sounded like me. She wouldn't live long enough to see the impact her talent made in the world, but she paved the way for me to star on *Desperate Housewives*. I realized I wanted to create more opportunities for my community, so I got behind the camera as a producer and director. I was proud to produce great shows like *Telenovela* and *Devious Maids*, which were groundbreaking in having all-Latino lead casts, and documentaries like *Food Chains* and *The Harvest* that humanized American farmworkers' issues. And as an actor, I seek out projects that tell our stories, like *Frontera*, *For Greater Glory* and *Lowriders*.

Unfortunately, my story is unusual. While TV has made the greatest strides in diversity, only 19% of TV's lead roles were played by minority actors in 2016, and 87% of directors across all platforms are white. Only 3% of speaking or named characters in 2016's top 100 movies were Latino, despite the fact that we account for 23% of attendees. Meanwhile, female-led films earn 16% more at the box office than male-led ones.

We need diverse executives, casting directors, producers and directors to look into the large untapped talent pool of women and minorities. This won't just lead to a better Hollywood—it has also proved to produce profitable projects.

Longoria is an actor, a director, a producer and a member of the Time's Up movement

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GRETA GERWIG IS STANDING AT A corner in Chinatown, trying to figure out the way to Brooklyn. She's spent nearly half her life in New York City, but we're at that point in lower Manhattan where the grid devolves into a patchwork maze. After lunch in the West Village, she suggested—on this frigid February day, with flurries swirling about and a doggie bag of half-eaten pasta Bolognese in her backpack—that we trek across the island, and then a bridge, before she heads to pedestrian-averse Los Angeles the next day. Gerwig likes to walk, often as a remedy for writer's block. It's when you're walking, she insists, that life happens to you.

Much has been happening to Gerwig lately. After a decade spent in front of the camera, she released her solo-directorial debut, *Lady Bird*, last fall. The film has since been nominated for five Oscars, including Best Director. This shouldn't be any more noteworthy than another film's success, but it is—women behind the camera rarely get mainstream recognition for their work. The nod makes Gerwig just the fifth woman nominated for directing in 90 years of Academy Awards—and the first female nominee since Kathryn Bigelow became the only woman to win, for *The Hurt Locker* in 2010.

That Gerwig, 34, did it with *Lady Bird*—which shares some DNA with her Sacramento upbringing—is remarkable, not just because it took half a decade to make and twice as long to find the courage. Its story—about a high school senior trying out for the musical and losing her virginity and infuriating her mom and attempting desperately to leave her hometown in the rearview—is one we think we've seen, but never in quite this way. It's one of few Best Picture nominees to take a teenage girl's interior life seriously. And it's hitting its peak at

a moment when teens, at gun-control rallies and voter-registration drives, are proving themselves to be concerned with much more than the worlds inside their smartphones.

For a movie that could easily be written off as small—no explosions or weighty historical crises here—the reception has been huge. The National Society of Film Critics named *Lady Bird* Best Picture, and the *New York Times'* A.O. Scott called it "perfect." Steven Spielberg specifically requested a seat next to Gerwig at the Oscar nominees' luncheon. And *Lady Bird*'s Oscar-nominated star Saoirse Ronan says that it wasn't until she saw Gerwig in action that her own dream to direct came into focus.

The movie has also resonated with audiences. The owner of a stately blue Sacramento house used as a filming location now has droves of devotees taking selfies outside her window on a kind of pilgrimage. There are more than a few testimonials online from daughters who, after seeing the film, called their mothers to apologize for their nightmarish teenage behavior. And a lone film blogger drew the ire of fans when he sullied *Lady Bird*'s perfect Rotten Tomatoes score. (The critic entered his review as "rotten" because he thought the film didn't deserve to be "the all-time best reviewed movie" on the review aggregator.)

In *Lady Bird*, on movie screens from Sacramento to Brooklyn, women and girls are seeing themselves reflected in all their warts and glory: Mothers whose love for their daughters has at times filtered messily through envy and resentment. Women whose double shifts as nurses or police officers render magazines in the supermarket checkout line an extravagance. Girls who've grown accustomed to being told, through images, that their lives are unworthy of thoughtful consideration. *Lady Bird* is the kind of movie that can make you a little more generous, and a little kinder, not least of all to yourself.

Gerwig has at once become her own success story and a symbol of the future of storytelling—of the not-so-radical notion that we may, perhaps even soon, get to stop qualifying *director* with *female*. She knows the power of seeing someone like yourself out there doing the thing you yearn to do. But she's hopeful for a time when we won't need to count every



woman's accomplishment as evidence. "You just look forward to the day," she says, "when it doesn't mean anything."

SOME KIDS GROW UP *practicing* Oscar speeches in the mirror. But when she was a kid in Sacramento, Gerwig barely even went to the movies. When she did, she didn't think about them as being directed—they just seemed like "whole things handed down from gods." Even among mortal creators, scant few were women. "There was Jane Campion, Nancy Meyers, Nora Ephron, Amy Heckerling," Gerwig says as she counts the few she can recall on one hand. "Not a lot."

It wasn't until she was at Barnard College that she realized she might want to add her name to that very short list. But directing just didn't seem like a realistic career option. So she immersed herself in theater, her childhood passion, working summers as a stage manager at places like the Ontological-Hysteric Theater. As she was finishing school, she began acting in low-budget mumblecore films like *Hannah Takes the Stairs* and *Nights and Weekends* (which she co-directed), known for their improvised performances and nonchalant approach to plot.

At the South by Southwest Film Festival in 2006, her senior year, she saw a film directed by a woman around her age. "I thought, Wait, are we allowed to do that? Who told you you could?" And then she realized: "Nobody told her. She was just gonna do it, like the guys were doing it." It was one in a series of moments, many involving female directors giving her advice and encouragement, that led to her deciding to do it too.

Gerwig had the cast and crew of Lady Bird wear name tags to create a warm atmosphere on set

We are still waiting for her meal to arrive, prior to our epic walk, when an angelic voice emerges from her phone: "Sail away, sail away, sail away." Before picking it up, she apologizes: "Oh, sorry—I have Enya as my ringtone." After she finishes a brief phone conversation, she explains, "The phone ringing is an anxious event, and Enya always calms you down." Gerwig has a calm presence to begin with. In conversation, she is earnest, with her shaggy blond hair taking on new configurations each time she runs a hand through it. She'll go deep on Tolstoy (the way he shifts narrative perspective to the dog in *Anna Karenina*) and Tina Fey (how she learned to listen through improv) in the space of a minute.

In many ways, the 25 films she appeared in over the course of a decade served as a substitute for film school. She's best known for her flaky aspiring dancer in 2013's *Frances Ha*, which she co-wrote with director Noah Baumbach, now her partner of several years. She received a Best Actress Golden Globe nomination for the role. But for all that she put into the performance, she was working overtime after her scenes were done, loitering on set to take notes on the lighting and production design. "When you're an actor on a movie, people don't kick you off the set," she explains. "They assume you have a right to be there."

As she immersed herself in this self-

ONE DAY WOMEN WON'T HAVE TO PROVE THEMSELVES

BY RACHEL MORRISON

I've never understood why there are so few female directors of photography. The job speaks to everything women do well: multitasking, empathy, emotion. Cinematography is about instinct and intuition—you want the same range of experience behind the camera as what you see in front of it. Your life experience will come through the lens.

Men are given the benefit of the doubt; women have to prove themselves time and time again. We have to shoot five \$1 million movies before we get one \$2 million movie, and five \$2 million movies before we get a \$10 million movie. There's this need to reassert: Yes, I have the technical skills. Yes, I'm confident enough. Yes, I can run a crew. Guys can stumble into the room and be handed the keys to the castle.

But it's improving. In the past few years, a change has been palpable. People are starting to take more "chances" on women on bigger-budget projects. Ryan Coogler went to bat for me when he brought me on for *Black Panther*—the first Marvel film with a woman as DP. It took me 11 independent films before I got my first studio job, but now I see my mentees getting a studio call after two or three indies, like my male peers. That's a huge shift—and hopefully it's just a matter of time before we can just be directors of photography, not "female directors of photography."

For me, the nomination is the win because it was determined by other cinematographers, and I truly believe it was based on the work, not my gender.

Morrison is the first woman to be nominated for an Oscar for Best Cinematography, for her work on *Mudbound*

WE NEED DIVERSE VOICES TELLING ALL TYPES OF STORIES

BY SYDNEY FREELAND

I am female, Native American and transgender. On top of all that, I'm a film and TV director in Hollywood. That's challenging even if you don't come into this industry as a minority.

It's imperative that diverse voices tell their own stories. The difference between a story told by someone who is removed from the place, the people and the community, and one that is told by someone who has seen it firsthand, is evident in the smallest details. Viewers recognizing themselves in the characters is crucial, and it's made possible when minorities aren't just in front of the camera but behind the scenes too.

Yet we can also tell stories besides our own. I'm obsessed with sci-fi and comic books—yes, I am a transgender Navajo woman who loves *Star Wars* and Marvel movies. As much as our stories matter, our unique experiences help us to imbue other stories with additional perspective that adds depth and breadth. Shows like *Transparent* and the upcoming series *Pose* feature trans talent both in front of and behind the camera, and it's also inspiring to see Taika Waititi, an indigenous Maori man from New Zealand, directing *Thor: Ragnarok*.

I started in film because I love telling stories. And although everyone has a story to tell, empowering individuals from underrepresented communities to tell all kinds of stories—to afford them the opportunity to show what they have lived and bared witness to—is vital to a deeper understanding. It's essential to our collective human story.

Freeland is an Emmy-nominated film and television director

directed curriculum, she continued acting in films like the historical drama *Jackie* and the acclaimed coming-of-age indie *20th Century Women*. She missed sitcom fame when a *How I Met Your Mother* spin-off she starred in failed to get picked up. She also appeared in Woody Allen's 2012 film *To Rome With Love*. Of the allegations that Allen abused his adopted daughter Dylan Farrow, she has said that she would not have worked with him had she known what she knows today, and she won't work with him in the future. Farrow tweeted her appreciation in response, writing, "Thank you for your words. Please know they are deeply felt and appreciated."

The meticulous preparation Gerwig put herself through, over many years, seems less typical of young male directors. "It might be gendered, it might be a variety of other things. I had this sense of needing to be prepared," she says. "It does seem to be something women struggle with more." But she knew when the time had come: "It does reach a point where you think, If I fall on my face and it's dreadful and everybody says it's dreadful, I'd rather have tried than not."

Now she is eager to apply her talents to a different kind of story. She isn't bound to the constraints of modest indies, she says. In fact, she wants to make a leap in scale, in the mold of Spielberg, who in her view has mastered the art of making genre movies personal. While *Lady Bird* trades in purposefully "unadorned cinematic language"—conversations in cars and schoolyard skirmishes—for her next trick she'll need CGI and special-effects teams. She'll act again, for the right director with the right project—this summer she'll shoot a drama with the French director Mia Hansen-Love—but her priority is clear. "It's important to know at any given moment what you would drop everything for," she says. "I would drop everything to write and direct movies."

FOR YEARS, there has been a sense that Hollywood is on the precipice of a change that never arrives. The so-called *Bridesmaids* effect, proclaimed following that film's blockbuster performance in 2011, failed to fully come to fruition. In 2017, many wondered if the *Wonder Woman* effect would prove similarly meaningless. But women's ups and downs in the industry are as old as Hollywood itself.



Women worked in great numbers at every level of production during Hollywood's first two decades. But the studio system born in the late 1920s introduced a gendered division of labor that persists to this day. As Gerwig began entertaining thoughts of making her own movies, women comprised less than 3% of top-grossing studio directors.

There's reason to believe that this time, the currents of change constitute more than just a passing breeze. This month brings the fourth \$100 million movie solo-directed by a woman, Ava DuVernay's *A Wrinkle in Time*. There are more female-helmed studio movies on the horizon, including Niki Caro's live-action *Mulan* and Gina Prince-Bythewood's *Spider-Man* spin-off *Silver & Black*. All of this groundwork was laid before the downfall of Harvey Weinstein.

The era of accountability ushered in by the #MeToo movement doesn't apply only to sexual misconduct in the workplace. Failing to hire female directors has long seemed out of step. Now it's bad for business. To Amy Pascal, a producer and former Sony executive and one of a small number of women ever to lead a studio, the reckoning around sexual harassment and assault in the entertainment industry "has led to a self-evaluation of Hollywood that's only going to be good."

Actors like Reese Witherspoon and Viola Davis, tired of waiting around for good roles, have turned to producing and



Lady Bird actors Saoirse Ronan, left, and Beanie Feldstein realistically portray a teenage friendship

developing female-centric material for themselves and others. "Women working together in groups for change is the point," says Pascal. "That's what hadn't happened before and that's what's going to make a big difference."

This renewed energy is mobilizing women of all backgrounds. "There are more and more talented women of color who aren't just telling their stories—who frankly are building empires," says director Karyn Kusama, known for horror films like *Jennifer's Body* and *The Invitation*. "We need empire builders, and we need some of them to be Latinas, to be black women, to be Asian women. We need all kinds of people in the mix to make for a vibrant culture that survives."

That Gerwig, with her Oscar nominations, now occupies anointed Hollywood status doesn't just mean that we'll get to see more from the brain that conjured *Lady Bird*, or that there's another role model for girls who dream of directing. A 2015 report by the Center for the Study of Women in Television and Film found that female directors and producers were more likely than men to hire women to serve other key roles on set. Women comprised more than half of the

writing staff on female-directed films but only 8% on male-directed films. Editors and cinematographers fared significantly better as well. Women in film, in other words, beget women in film.

But it's not just getting there that's the challenge. Female directors' careers are typically two to three decades shorter than males'. They are more likely than men to direct one studio film and not receive another offer. And there are other considerations that keep women on the sidelines. Says Gerwig, when we get onto to the topic of motherhood: "I'm still terrified that it makes you not hireable." I ask her to define "it"—just the fact of being of childbearing age? She nods. "You can sure as f-ck know that if you were talking to a 34-year-old male director, they would not be thinking about this."

But women are thinking about it, and giving voice to it and a host of other barriers that for so long went unquestioned. "It feels like not being able to see orange, and then all of a sudden you can see orange," she says. "You realize orange is everywhere and how much you'd internalized." Once you have women in numbers naming the problems and tackling them together, she says, "I don't think it will go back to business as usual."

TWO HOURS into our walk, we've nearly crossed the bridge, with Brooklyn's tree-lined waterfront coming into sharp relief. I ask if more fans have approached her since her full-court press tour for *Lady Bird*. She says yes, somewhat—mostly young women. Just the other day, she was at the airport and a 20-something woman stopped her. "She said, 'Thank you for your movies. I want to make movies,'" Gerwig, in what is now becoming a regular practice, made the young woman look at her and promise to her face that she would make them. "She was like, 'I'm trying to,' and I was like, 'No, no, no. Go make it!'" Gerwig's friend, who was traveling with her, observed that the tactic seemed a bit aggressive. But that's the point.

It's not far-fetched to imagine that one of these women will stand at a podium as Gerwig has done many times this awards season, clutching her hardware and recounting the story of an Oscar-nominated director getting in her face to extract a sacred vow. "I mean, it's going to happen," she says, smiling. "I can't wait." □

THEY DIDN'T WANT US HERE, BUT NOW THEY NEED US

BY ANGELA ROBINSON

Every year, when I speak at the American Film Institute's Directing Workshop for Women, I start the same way: "They don't want you here." Sometimes this is met with confusion or blank stares, but often it's nods of recognition. What I'm articulating is something that these women, many of them women of color, know to be true.

This simple truth has probably rarely—if ever—been spoken out loud on their long journey to Hollywood. I give the requisite caveats: I'm not talking all white men, I'm talking about They with a capital *T*. Although Hollywood is a sexist and racist place, that is not why they don't want you here. There are two reasons. The first reason is economic. If you, a woman, get a job directing a movie, it means that some white dude doesn't. The second reason is deeper. It has to do with cis white men wanting to see the world through a lens where they're the heroes and always get the girl. What's even harder than taking somebody's job is asking him to give up that lens on the world.

For years, this has been my gospel. But last April, something was different. I had just finished directing a feature, and I felt the landscape shifting. The rage women were feeling over President Trump's election was simmering. #MeToo and Time's Up, *Wonder Woman* and *Black Panther* were still to come. But at the end of my speech, I said this: "They might not want you here, but I have a feeling that sometime soon, they may need you here." That time is now.

Robinson is a writer and director



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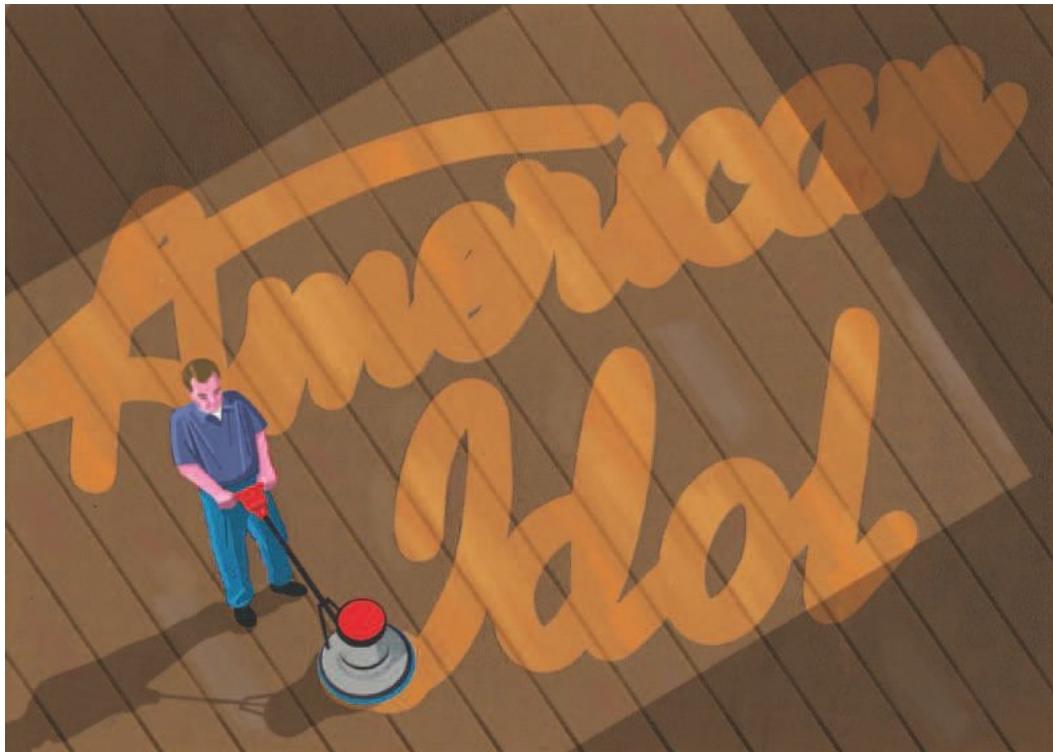
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Time Off

'LIKE FASHION, GRAPHIC DESIGN IS CONSTANTLY AND INSTINCTIVELY REDEFINING ITSELF.' —PAGE 54



TELEVISION

American Idol returns with new confidence

By Daniel D'Addario

ON A THURSDAY IN JANUARY AT Hollywood's Dolby Theatre, an amateur singer has just nailed his audition. Singing "Maybe This Time"—the heartfelt number from *Cabaret* made famous by Liza Minnelli—a somewhat timid young man blasted through each note, and conjured up from nowhere a sense of yearning and desperation.

The three judges who hold the keys to his fate—pop star Katy Perry, country singer Luke Bryan and R&B legend Lionel Richie—are uncharacteristically exuberant. They've been largely quiet on this last day of "Hollywood Week," trying to decide who will make the final slate of competitors, but now they burst into applause. Perry is moved to strip off her jacket and toss her chair from

the judges' dais into the crowd. Like the best moments from this show's history, it's both real and artificial. Moments later, once our aspiring star has walked offstage, a stagehand gingerly passes Perry her chair back.

Welcome to the new, kinder, cuddlier *American Idol*. After a two-year absence, the show returns to prime time on ABC on March 11. The network hopes that it will do some version of what its first iteration did on Fox. *Idol* 1.0 was the nation's defining reality-TV sensation, a show so popular at its height that other networks barely programmed against it. It generated A-list singers like Kelly Clarkson, Carrie Underwood, Jennifer Hudson and Adam Lambert, and made a household name of Simon Cowell, the brusque British record executive who



'There aren't as many gatekeepers, which means there's more equality and availability to shine.'

KATY PERRY, who will counsel aspiring singers when *American Idol* returns on March 11 on ABC

cheerfully shattered auditioners' dreams.

But even before *Idol* left Fox in 2016, much of the world had moved on. The show was outpaced both by the amiable bickering on NBC's music competition *The Voice* and by a changing entertainment ecosystem in which families—*Idol*'s natural audience—split into different audience segments. The family that, when *Idol* debuted less than a year after 9/11, would have watched a fun singing competition together is now inhabiting different rooms, with Mom and Dad streaming a dark drama on Netflix while their son watches Logan Paul videos on YouTube and their daughter monitors her Instagram Stories.

How to knit an audience back together? *Idol* 2.0 meets a crasser, nastier era—one in which a former reality-TV star's blunt judgments on social media make news every day. Yet *Idol* 2.0 says goodbye to the remnants of nasty quips from the judging panel, and hello to a newly inclusive suite of contestants and a nurturing, artist-friendly philosophy. Can a show with the last bit of bitterness leached out really thrive in 2018? "Reality TV tends to be strong when

there's a lot of cattiness and negativity," Perry tells TIME, "and we don't have a lot of that! So I don't know!" In an era in which gentle, affirming communication seems in short supply, this *Idol* may end up hitting just the right note.

IDOL'S FIRST SEASON, in 2002, was an instant hit thanks in large part to its sunny optimism and vision of heartland America as a wellspring of untapped talent. Alone among a reality-TV wave that included dark Machiavellian visions like *Survivor* and *Big Brother*, it seemed to reward pure talent, and placed the power in the hands of viewers voting from home. But the audience's interest eventually waned. A long string of so-called white guys with guitars, winning year after year with only slight variations on the same act, ate into the show's credibility as a star factory. In 2016, Fox canceled it.

And yet it's already back. "It felt like there would be a place and a home for it," says Ryan Seacrest, who has hosted every season and is returning for the new iteration. (News of sexual-abuse allegations made by Seacrest's former

stylist broke on Feb. 26.) The show had an eventually broken eight-year streak as America's most-watched series; its final season came in at No. 19. Fox had hoped to keep *Idol* on ice for a while longer; ABC, on the other hand, saw the show as part of a paradigm shift away from niche appeal. "I've been embracing the fact that we are a broadcast network," says ABC president Channing Dungey. "The word *broad* is in the title."

The new contestants grew up on *Idol*; some were only babies when the show premiered in 2002. The show taught them how to sing in TV-ready increments, packing whole emotional arcs into two minutes or less. "Most of the contestants that really want to be on and really want to win, they are students of not only singing but of the show and how it works," says Seacrest. "The best have that edge."

The show taught its judges how to judge too. While the three panelists didn't make their pronouncements during the final auditions—instead conferring among themselves ominously as to whom they would let through—their reactions revealed the personae each had been honing. Bryan was

grave, his mouth set in a straight line no matter how high the note soared. Richie was smilingly, noddingly into it, no matter what “it” was. And Perry, who in conversation compares herself to Cowell (“He’s a real straight shooter, and I’m a real straight shooter; he has a sense of humor, and I have that same thing”) had mastered a virtuosic sort of performance that Cowell, ever the hater, couldn’t have dreamed of.

Perry describes her judging style as “a really nice balance [between] reality and fantasyland.” I observed her slow evolution during the 21st performance of the day, a rendition of Sam Smith’s “Too Good at Goodbyes.” Captured on the monitors producers use to watch footage, she was unsure, then warming, then pleasantly impressed, all before subtly indicating to stagehands that the mike volume be turned down just a tad.

The judges managed to evolve and keep their performances fresh even despite the repetitiousness of the day’s early going. What helped was the occasional dash of something that felt, well, un-*Idol*-y, in ways large and small. One contestant belted Aretha Franklin while wearing not the traditional *Idol* sparkles but orange Converse sneakers. A young lady in a beret and white go-go boots sang an original song about “toxic masculinity.” (“Don’t forget, we love men of quality who believe in equality!” Perry exhorted before the song began.)

Some of the original *Idol*’s uglier moments came in its desire to push past the inherent friendliness of its premise—as in the notorious “bad auditions,” in which inept singers were put in front of the judges. That had been phased out by the end of *Idol*’s first run and is excised now: “We are eliminating the borderline unstable people just to put them there and have a laugh at them,” says Trish Kinane, the show’s executive producer. Many of those bad singers at whom the show paused to laugh tended to be fey men. I Googled one of this season’s new singers—a tall, beehived chanteuse—only to find out that she was a drag queen (she sang “Natural Woman,” of course). That quite so many male singers the judges had brought a few rounds deep into the show’s new iteration seem to be comfortable covering their favorite divas suggested that *Idol* has entered a new

PAST IDOL SUPERSTARS

The show has a track record of launching long-lasting talent



KELLY CLARKSON

The show’s first winner, in 2002, Clarkson has won three Grammys; she now appears on *Idol* rival *The Voice*



CARRIE UNDERWOOD

Before her seven Grammys and induction into the Grand Ole Opry, Underwood was the first country singer to win *Idol*, in 2005



JENNIFER HUDSON

The *Dreamgirls* Oscar winner placed seventh in 2004—a shock elimination that catalyzed even more fan support



ADAM LAMBERT

The Queen collaborator placed second in 2009, then confirmed rumors he was gay; his laissez-faire edge was new for *Idol*

era. It’s still a show the whole family can watch, but for an era whose ideas of “the whole family” look broader than before.

NOW THAT EVERYONE has a platform, thanks to avenues to stardom like YouTube, SoundCloud and social media, the show may serve as more of an amplifier for stars who have already polished their act online. It will matter less, perhaps, who wins the vote than who dazzles enough to build their following, whose original song or edgy arrangement goes viral.

And *Idol* can help educate digital-native kids who are gifted at packaging how to appeal to analog audiences. “We’ve encountered kids that do have a huge YouTube following already,” says Bryan. “But they feel like whether they go forward to the next round or not, it was an educational experience.” You can hit all the right notes in a YouTube video, but the act of being part of a production like *Idol*, for a few days or for a season, will teach these contestants a bit more about how a business in upheaval works. As Richie puts it, “Consider us three master instructors. Hopefully, what we say has much more weight than an opinion from an executive.”

Idol, which once made stars through sheer innovation, is now among the last establishment options still standing. Says Perry: “There aren’t as many gatekeepers, which means there’s more equality and availability to shine. But there are so many options—the market is so crowded.” This show, at its best, can cut through the clutter.

On a second break, between the day’s 51st and 52nd performances, I get a sense of why the show, 16 years after its launch, might just find a meaningful second life. In the contestants’ lounge, the drag queen is idly making conversation with a bearded fellow in a denim vest and cowboy hat. It was a quiet moment, one that was nearly drowned out by the buzzing energy of dozens of wired singers. But it seemed to point to *Idol*’s possibilities in 2018—that the show might create a musical conversation that crosses boundaries, pleases multiple sensibilities and generates something we’ve lost in our dissonant age. That is, of course, the simplest and loveliest thing of all: the sound of harmony. □



Robinson, a 2016 TIME 100 honoree, is one of the foremost figures in American letters and the author of 10 books

INTERVIEW

Marilynne Robinson promotes reason in unreasonable times

By Sarah Begley

MARILYNNE ROBINSON IS A DISSIDENT, THOUGH SHE MAY not sound like one. The 74-year-old Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist and acclaimed essayist has made a peaceable career of rejecting commonly held opinions to look for a deeper truth. Her fiction and nonfiction alike have found a home in the hearts of American intellectuals like Barack Obama as well on best-seller lists. She's a humanist, a Congregationalist, an artist and a student of history, and she makes her readers want to be more thoughtful people.

The essays in her new collection, *What Are We Doing Here?*, are mostly lectures that she gave at universities. The pieces are erudite, and often long. "I impose on the patience of my audience from time to time," she tells TIME. "That's a fact." And though these lectures critique the "them's" of the world—politicians who exploit their constituents, journalists who reinforce "whatever gimmicky notion is in the air," academics who lazily repeat the same scholarship—they are written in a way that assumes her reasonable audience will agree with her. "I suppose I don't know how to write to an antagonistic audience," she says. "I love questions, and often people ask very basic questions that I shouldn't assume we agree about. In any case, they are very willing to entertain my ideas."

Robinson, who has a warm voice and is easy to laugh, has a way of setting the record straight that feels necessary in this "fake news" moment. Her confidence and eloquence can make common knowledge sound uncommonly stupid. For instance, she loves the Puritans and wants people to know they weren't as, well, puritan as popular history frames them: they didn't wear black (shocker to anyone whose vision of pilgrims is

based on *The Crucible*); they didn't carry crosses, which they considered icons; and they were far less theocratic, with far looser rules, than their Anglican and Catholic counterparts in Europe. "The American Puritans were the most progressive population on earth through the nineteenth century at least," she writes in an essay correcting certain stereotypes about Christian doctrine. She draws direct lines from the universities established by early Puritans to the abolitionists who succeeded in eliminating slavery. If we could get our settlers this wrong, perhaps all of our political and historical groups need re-examination.

And maybe we need to re-examine ourselves. Robinson would like us to reject the notion that Americans are naturally ungenerous capitalists. Social science loves to tell us that we have to trick ourselves into goodness. Robinson thinks this sells us short and that it's dangerous to our future to keep repeating it. "It is shocking how defenseless the protections of the environment, of the poor and even of the rights of voters have been shown to be in recent years," she writes. "No one defends these things as American, because the Left no more than the Right thinks of them as among our core values."

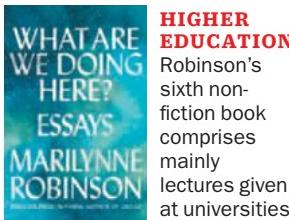
If there's one thing the Bible insists on, it is that you are kind to strangers, that you are generous to strangers.'

MARILYNNE ROBINSON,
author of *What Are We
Doing Here?*

WHAT MAKES Robinson so special is "her utter seriousness about what she's doing," says her longtime editor Jonathan Galassi. "Her *Gilead* novels [which also include *Home* and *Lila*] are one of the greatest contributions to American fiction, in my lifetime, certainly." He sees her nonfiction as equally essential: "Marilynne has a very deep understanding of the basis of American culture in religion. And that understanding of our attitudes about right and wrong, and how they've played out in

our history, is something that we need, that people are very responsive to."

In 2016, Robinson retired from a long career teaching at the Iowa Writers' Workshop. She still lives in Iowa, but travels frequently. When at home, she attends church weekly; she was raised Presbyterian, but chose Congregationalism as an adult "because it's more democratic." She is long divorced, and she writes in the book of discord between herself and her late mother, fueled in part by her mother's Fox News fandom. Her experience of family, a frequent topic in her novels, from *Housekeeping* (1980) to *Gilead* (which won the Pulitzer in 2005) to *Lila* (2014), has been "very precious and central and complicated, sometimes bordering on difficult." Asked what gives her joy, she says, "I have a number of things I could propose. Over my lifetime I've become very, very aware of looking at things, just how beautiful and how intricate and elegant the world is. But then I also have grandchildren, I have



HIGHER EDUCATION

Robinson's sixth non-fiction book comprises mainly lectures given at universities

sons, I have my books, which I adore."

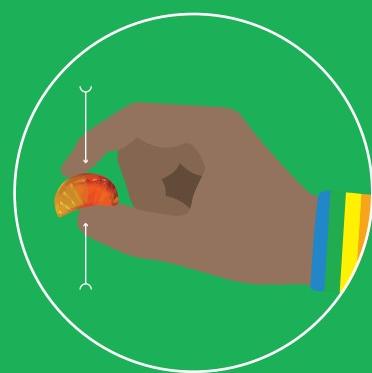
Robinson's fiction is as rooted in theology as her nonfiction. *Gilead* is about a dying minister, John Ames, in 1950s Iowa. Like Robinson, he is a Congregationalist, but the novel has struck a chord with believers and non-believers. "It's been published in Persian, it's published in Chinese," she says. "There's something about religion that transcends the specific circumstances of religion, you know? We're wrong to think that a religious loyalty precludes finding sympathy with other people who are also religious."

Yet Robinson is disappointed by the current state of Christianity in America.

Reflecting on the fact that Donald Trump captured a larger share of the evangelical vote than Mitt Romney or John McCain, she says, "It just appalls me. I cannot imagine what these people are thinking about. I mean, honestly, every day you read the paper—what is going to happen to the DACA people? They have been roasting over a slow fire for months, for no reason. Deadlines changing, threats floating, all this sort of thing. If there's one thing the Bible insists on, it is that you are kind to strangers, that you are generous to strangers. They're not even strangers—they're us, with a little technical difficulty. How anyone who claims to know anything about the Bible could endure this spectacle, I cannot begin to imagine."

Robinson sees her politics as an extension of her faith. "I'm perfectly comfortable thinking of myself as a liberal Democrat," she says. "I wrote about the speech John Winthrop gave on the *Arabella*, about what the city on the hill should be, and in that speech, the

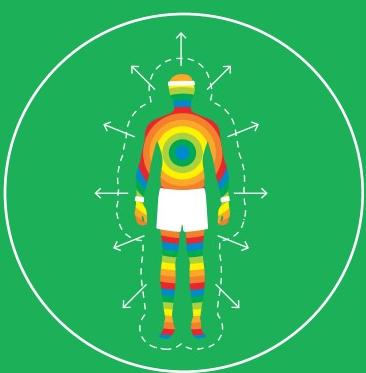
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world *liberal* is used over and over and over again, and it means ‘openhanded.’ As it does also in English translations of the Bible. As a kind of politics, that’s what I mean by *liberal*.

Robinson perceives that Christianity is unfashionable in certain circles, and she can see why the behavior of some within her faith have given it a bad name. “When people find something like a religion unfashionable,” she says, “they avoid it in a way that means they know nothing about it, so that whatever offended them becomes the one impression they have, whether it’s a legitimate impression or not.”

Her books offer a different impression of the faith that has played such a large role in her life—and almost played a larger one. “I actually thought about going to seminary after college,” she says. “But in those days, there was a theoretical welcome to women, but in practice you were just marginalized, and ended up writing somebody else’s sermons, that sort of thing. It looked

like frustration waiting to happen, so I didn’t do that.”

THE AMERICA that Robinson loves and respects—the one the Puritans came here to found—doesn’t resemble Trump’s vision for the country. Her ideal is a nation of people who see themselves as “citizens,” not “taxpayers.” “The Citizen had a country, a community, children and grandchildren, even—a word we no longer hear—posterity. The Taxpayer has a 401(k),” she writes. “I know lots of taxpayers, frankly, who would be happy to pay more taxes,” she says. “You can give money to charities, but I want to live in a country where basic rights of everyone are simply acknowledged as part of the life of the whole country. It’s actually against my religion to think otherwise.”

It’s the kind of thinking that makes her a woman after Obama’s own heart. He interviewed her for the *New York Review of Books* in 2015. “This is a word that people for some reason are

uncomfortable with, but he’s really a gentleman,” she says. “His sensitivities to other people’s circumstances and feelings and so on is remarkable.” She has been in touch with him since he left the White House and says he’s “busy” but “as wonderful as always.”

Robinson is keeping busy herself with a fifth novel—she won’t say what it’s about—and she’s preparing an eight-part lecture series to deliver at Cambridge University on Genesis and Exodus. “These great texts have been horribly abused by bad scholarship and criticism, and by fundamentalist ‘defenses’ as well, so I’m going to take another look at them,” she says. The project of questioning entrenched ideas continues.

“I have talked about the fact that it was a joke to say you couldn’t say ‘Merry Christmas,’ ” she says, laughing. “Go out in the street and try it out! People accept as true things that are available to being tested by their own experience. You know, read the *New York Times*! It will not do your spirit any harm!” □

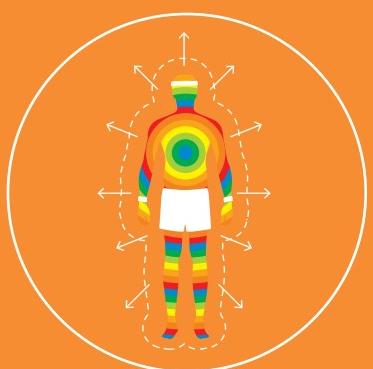
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DESIGN

Visions of history, told through art

By Lucy Feldman

WEIGHING IN AT 8.6 LB., GERMAN creative director Jens Müller's 480-page tome *The History of Graphic Design Vol. 1, 1890–1959* ambitiously traces not only the evolution of an industry, but also the arc of our aesthetics.

Told chronologically, with spreads for each year, the story starts with the "big bang" discovery by French printer Jules Chéret of an efficient way to produce multi-colored posters. From there, advertisements, logos and magazine covers begin to emerge.

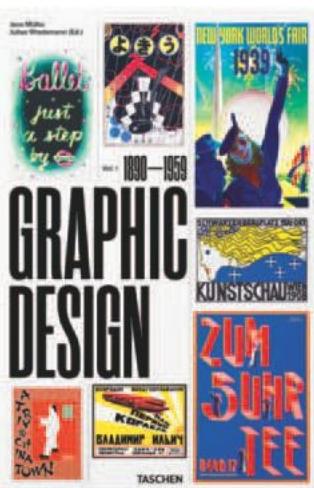
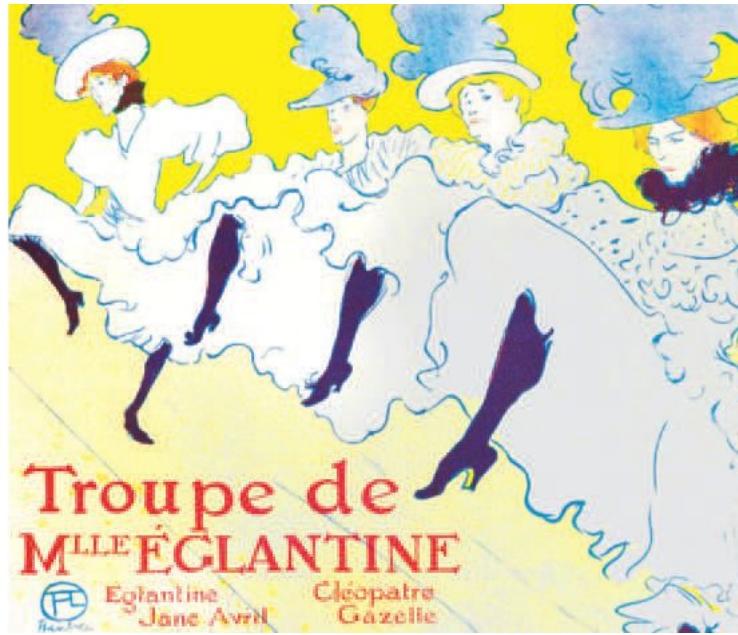
Müller identifies the political power of design through 1920s and '30s artists like John Heartfield (whose subversive visual commentary on Hitler and the Nazi regime led to an attempt on his life), and Müller nods to the ways design revolutionized advertising. As any fan of *Mad Men* knows, artists have helped form corporate identity; art director William Golden's 1951 CBS Eye logo was originally intended to distinguish the company's television arm from its radio branch, but over time it endured as an icon that characterizes the entire enterprise. Müller also traces the way design has influenced new media, like the opening-credit animations that Saul Bass created for films in the 1950s.

Elsewhere in the book, Rosie the Riveter, Chéret's festive Palais de Glace Champs-Élysées poster and *Sphere* covers depicting the Titanic all illustrate pivotal moments in history. A second volume is in the works.

"The look of graphic design is, to a significant extent, molded by social, economic and political developments," Müller writes. "Like fashion, graphic design is constantly and instinctively redefining itself." □

1890S

Right and below: The posters of post-Impressionist artist Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, saturated with a signature combination of bold colors and black, celebrated 1890s nightlife in Paris



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1930S

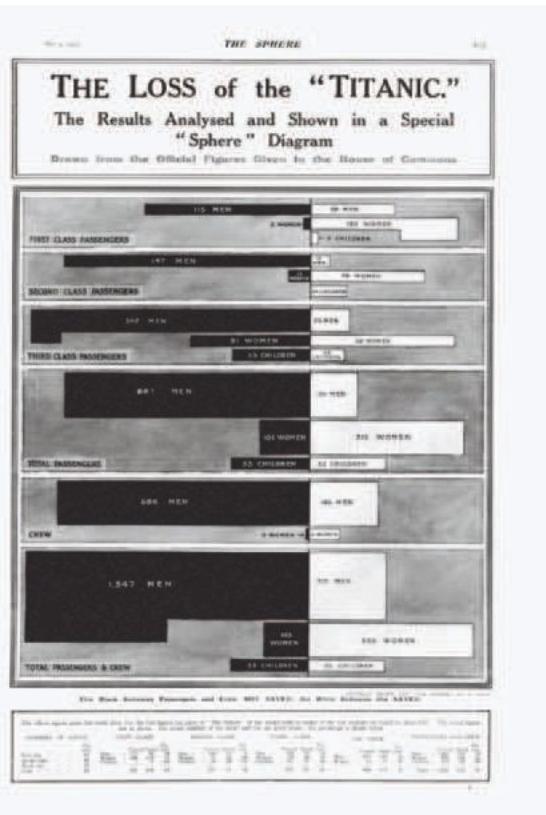
Left: In 1939, the British Ministry of Information produced more than 2 million posters bearing the encouraging words "Keep Calm and Carry On"—a slogan and image that have withstood time



Ab 21. Oktober 1936 in der Akademie der bildenden Künste München, Akademiestraße
Eintritt RM - 50 - Fahrkarten: 9 Markung.

1930S

Above: Just as corporations leaned on striking, memorable images to influence consumers, fascist leaders also discovered the power of graphic design to create propaganda, as in this 1936 poster by Klotz & Kienast



1910S

Above: Graphs, diagrams and photography provided news consumers with different kinds of insight into the 1912 *Titanic* shipwreck, here reported in the *Sphere*, a British weekly paper

9 Questions

Adam Rippon The American figure skater, who won a bronze medal in PyeongChang, talks about celebrity fans, his feud with the Vice President and being a role model

Figure skating can be a grueling sport, and you missed the Olympic team twice before making it this year. Did you ever think of giving up? After I didn't make the last Olympics, I did think about retiring. I didn't know if I could go through another four years. But I gave myself another chance and stopped putting so much pressure on getting to the Olympics or being national champion. I just focused on being a better athlete, and it took so much pressure off. My goals became personal.

Were you surprised by the outpouring of support when you finally made your Olympic debut? Wherever I go, I always seem to make friends. I'm so glad I didn't make the Olympic team in 2010 or 2014, because I was really young and didn't know who I was. I think we are always on a journey to discover more about ourselves, and I've gotten past a huge personal hurdle and now it feels very comfortable to be myself. Sometimes I take people by surprise. But what can I say, I'm surprising!

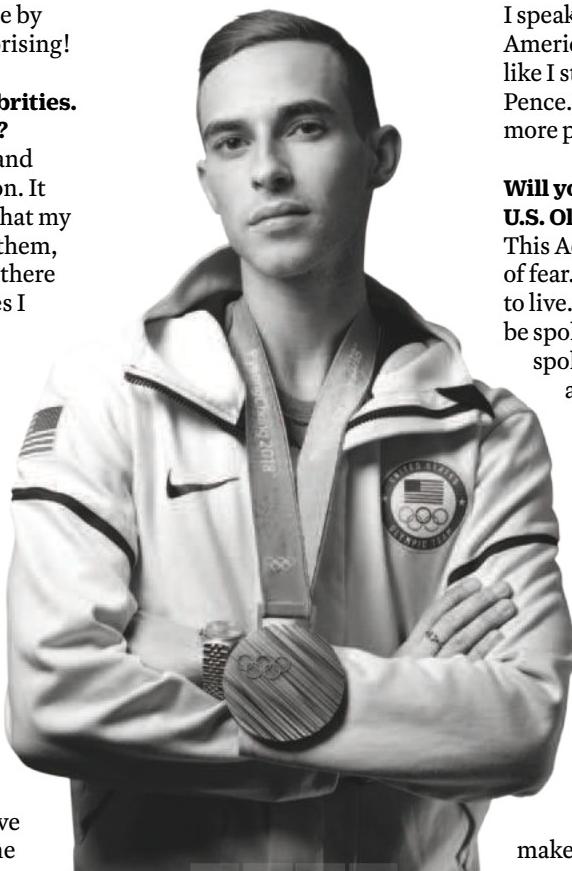
Your new fans include a lot of celebrities. Who are you most excited to meet?

I would love to meet Britney Spears and Mindy Kaling and Reese Witherspoon. It still shocks me when people tell me that my whole Olympic experience inspired them, celebrity or not. So many people out there struggle to be themselves. Sometimes I trust myself a little too much. But if you can't trust yourself, how can anybody trust you?

Many skaters who have come out as gay publicly did so after they retired. Why did you decide to compete openly? I just stopped giving a sh-t. People are so worried about what others think, and I say that based on my own experiences. Skating is a judged sport, and you want to come off as the all-American you think they want. I let go of that notion.

Was it hard? It's so important if I have a platform that I use it. For a long time

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I thought that if I shared my story, I might not be accepted. But I gained so much confidence from it. When you are really able to embrace yourself, the whole world opens up and it's so liberating. I think I lost 400 pounds of stress after I did it. I felt ... free.

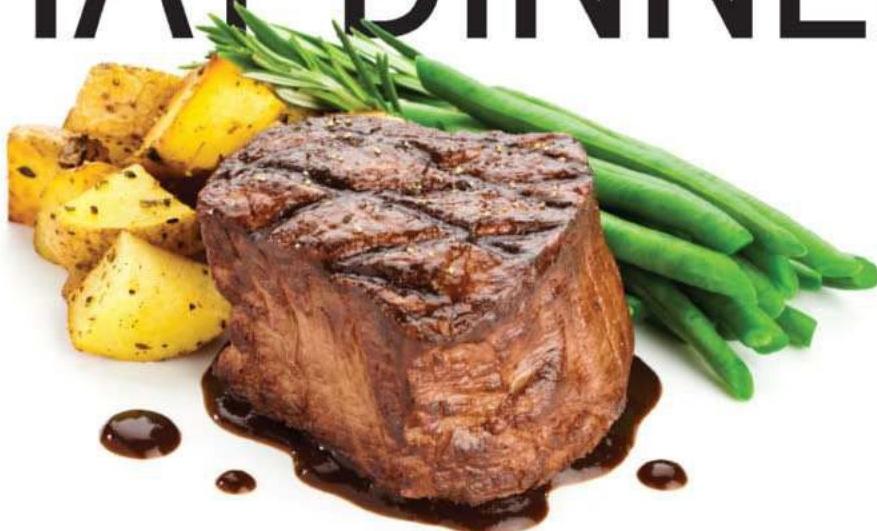
Have you heard from Vice President Mike Pence after he tweeted that he supported you and the rest of Team USA? I haven't heard from him. I didn't want to meet him before the Games, because it's distracting. But it's foolish not to open the conversation and take advantage of the situation.

So would you talk to him now? Yes, but I can't speak from personal experience. This is a conversation for the trans woman who isn't allowed to use the bathroom and for someone who has been denied services at a business based on their sexuality. These aren't experiences I have ever gone through. I speak up for those people because I feel all Americans should be treated equally. I feel like I started to be their voice without Mike Pence. But I think he gave me a little bit more power than he thought.

Will you visit the White House with other U.S. Olympians? Oh, no. I won't be going. This Administration ran on a platform of fear. I don't think that's any way for us to live. I would never want my sister to be spoken to the way Donald Trump has spoken to women. I would never want anyone to talk to my mother that way. And my mother would never tolerate one of her sons doing that, either. I think we can do better.

Do you see yourself as a role model? I want to. I always remember my mom told me to work hard and treat other people the way you want to be treated. And if you feel you didn't have a role model growing up, then act the way you want your role model to act. When I was young, I wish somebody like me would have told me that being different was going to make me really special.—ALICE PARK

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